

**RE-DEFINING ANGLO-ARGENTINE LITERATURE:  
FROM TRAVEL WRITING TO TRAVELLING IDENTITIES**

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*In loving memory of my husband, Javier Moi,  
always the wind beneath my wings.*

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## Abstract

This study proposes a definition of Anglo-Argentine literature, a literary corpus that has not been explicitly defined, and provides a reading list of Anglo-Argentine works on the basis of that definition.

The research is based on the presupposition that Anglo-Argentine texts can be used to contribute to an intercultural approach to language and literature teaching in the Argentine higher education context. Such texts can encourage reflection on how writing on Argentina in English has contributed to constructing Argentina's multiple identities. Therefore, compiling the titles that make up the corpus of Anglo-Argentine writing, making it available and analysing it critically is the contribution that this thesis aims to make.

To make the findings available to the Argentine ELT (English Language Teaching) community, a webpage accompanies the thesis: <http://claudiaferradas.net>. The site provides access to the reading list with links to digital publications, intercultural materials on Anglo-Argentine texts and critical articles derived from the thesis.

The compilation of texts does not aim to be exhaustive; it is a critical presentation of the titles identified in terms of the intercultural objectives stated above. As a result, not all titles are discussed in the same degree of detail and some are simply mentioned on the reading list. Two works are selected as 'focus texts' for in-depth analysis and all the works identified are grouped into 'series' with common denominators, which may be thematic or connected to the context of production.

As regards the analytical focus, the thesis traces the *construction of the other* in early texts and how this *representation* is reinforced or modified in later

works. *The other* is understood both as the *unfamiliar landscape* and the *native inhabitants*: both *original inhabitants* ('Indians' in the literature) and *Gauchos*. *Urban white creoles* are also part of the discussion when the narrator's *gaze* focuses on them. The theoretical framework for this analysis is based upon post-colonial theory and the notion of *transculturation*.

Finally, the thesis extends the concept of Anglo-Argentine literature to works produced in English by Argentine writers whose mother tongue is not English and who do not have English-speaking ancestors. This leads to a reconsideration of the definition initially proposed to approach Anglo-Argentine literature as a *fluid third place*, a subversion of the binary implied by the adjective 'Anglo-Argentine' that embraces *travelling identities* in constant process of construction in contact with otherness.

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# **1. Anglo-Argentine Literature Revisited**

## **1.1 In search of an Anglo-Argentine corpus**

This thesis focuses on a body of texts which is, by definition, intercultural: Anglo-Argentine literature. As a teacher of literature in English language teacher-training and translation programmes for non-native speakers of English in Argentina, both at undergraduate and graduate level, my teaching practice has led me to reflect on what texts to select for those classes. Based on the presupposition that the development of intercultural awareness is a central aim in such programmes, I decided to include Anglo-Argentine works in the syllabi I designed. It is my contention that such texts can offer opportunities to analyse representations of Argentina by English-speaking writers and focus on how Anglo-Argentine literary discourse has contributed to the construction of Argentine identities.

This decision led me to start a search for titles available in the local market, but my initial findings were discouraging. To begin with, very little has been published on the Anglo-Argentine literary corpus, a body of work that is only loosely defined, as discussed in chapter 2 (p. 29). Besides, few titles are available in Argentine bookstores, except in translation – due to the popularity of travel writing in the last few years (Sopeña 1998) – and many titles are out of print. As a result, I concluded that the experience of coming into contact with the texts would have to be hypertextual, as most 19<sup>th</sup> century titles are available as digital facsimiles. It is on the basis of these circumstances, taken as an encouraging challenge rather than an obstacle, that the research described in this thesis has developed.

The purpose of my work is to provide Argentine students with a corpus that allows them to reflect on their own identities while learning English at upper intermediate or advanced level. I believe the compilation of the corpus can prove particularly useful to students training to be English teachers or translators, whose future professional role demands that they become critical cultural explorers and mediators. It may also be useful to their trainers and to researchers in cultural studies in general.

The thesis defines Anglo-Argentine literature in the light of the intercultural aim described above (Cf. chapter 2, p. 19) and provides a reading list of Anglo-Argentine works. The compilation is not encyclopaedic –it does not aim to be exhaustive; it is a critical presentation of the titles identified as most relevant in terms of the intercultural objectives stated above. As a result, not all titles are discussed in the same degree of detail and some are simply mentioned. Two works are selected as ‘focus texts’ for in-depth analysis and all the works identified are grouped into ‘series’ with common denominators, which may be thematic or connected to the context of production. To clarify the latter, a brief historical description of the development of the Anglo-Argentine community in Argentina is provided in chapter 3.

As regards the analytical focus, the thesis traces the *construction of the other* in early texts (chapter 4) and how this *representation* is reinforced or modified in later works (chapters 5 and 6). *The other* is understood both as the *unfamiliar landscape* and the *native inhabitants*: both *original inhabitants* (‘Indians’ in the literature) and *Gauchos*<sup>1</sup>. *Urban white creoles* are also part of the discussion when the narrators’ gaze focuses on them. The theoretical

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<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> *The Gauchos* are the cattle-tending horsemen of the pampas. They are ‘mestizos’(half-breeds) and therefore different from the white creoles who are mostly found in the big cities

framework for this analysis is based upon post-colonial theory and the notion of *transculturation* (Cf. chapter 2, p. 48).

The thesis also attempts to extend the concept of Anglo-Argentine literature to works produced in English by Argentine writers whose mother tongue is not English and who do not have English-speaking ancestors, a phenomenon which seems to be developing in the context of increasing globalisation (chapter 7, pp. 272-275). Finally, areas for further study are identified, especially concerning the use of such texts in English language and literature classes (chapter 7, pp. 276-277).

But if the purpose of the research is to be achieved, the findings should be made available to the Argentine ELT (English Language Teaching) community. With this purpose in mind, a webpage accompanies the thesis: 'The Anglo-Argentine Web' The site – which, as is always the case with the hypertextual medium, is in permanent construction – is available at <http://www.claudiaferradas.net>. It provides access to the reading list with links to digital publications, intercultural materials on Anglo-Argentine texts (published and unpublished) and critical articles derived from the thesis.

## **1.2 The research focus**

It is my contention that the study of literary texts in which other cultures come into contact with their own can help readers develop intercultural awareness, by focusing on their own identity (understood, in Stuart Hall's terms (in Rutherford 1990: 110), as 'a "production" which is never complete, always in process') and reflecting on how meanings can be communicated across

cultures. This can be particularly useful in the training of translators and English language teachers as cultural mediators.

When designing syllabi for the courses referred to above, among texts from different cultures written in different World Englishes (Kilpatrick 2007) I have aimed to include texts written in English about our own country by travellers, visitors, settlers and Anglo-Argentines. As described on p. 3, this corpus of 'Anglo-Argentine' literature seems to have been forgotten, and except for the works of a few 'canonical' figures, it is difficult to have access to such texts. The popularity of travel writing in the last few years, especially about Patagonia, has rekindled interest in the accounts of British visitors to Argentina, but except for authors such as Chatwin and Theroux, these are only available in translation into Spanish, if at all. Even the works of Gerald Durrell, very popular in classrooms in the 1970s, are now hard to find in bookstores.

However, I strongly believe that Anglo-Argentine texts can be used to contribute to an intercultural approach to language and literature teaching in the Argentine higher education context. Such texts can help us see how others see us, how discourse (including literary discourse) has contributed to constructing our multiple identities, the beliefs and stereotypes about Argentinians that are seldom examined critically. Therefore, *compiling the titles that make up the corpus of Anglo-Argentine writing, making it available and analysing it critically is the contribution that this research aims to make* (Cf. p. 4).

The questions the research aims to answer can be summarised as follows:

*What is meant by Anglo-Argentine literature? What texts can be included within that corpus and be made available to readers? Is the corpus still growing? How has the representation of self and other in such texts contributed to the construction of Argentine identities?*

### **1.3 Interdisciplinary Crossroads**

As can be derived from the considerations above, this thesis is the meeting point of different strands, which converge in the discussion of the texts:

- *Intercultural studies*, in particular the *development of intercultural competence* through literature. It offers the backdrop against which this study develops.
- *Anglo-Argentine literature*: a body of work that needs to be (re)defined, compiled and analysed to be brought back to readers' attention within an intercultural perspective. It offers the raw material to work on and poses questions for further research.
- *Post-colonial theory*. It provides the framework to define, identify and analyse Anglo-Argentine literature, although the study also reveals its limitations.
- *Hypertext theory*. Hyperlinks seem to offer a valuable tool to make explicit intertextual and intercultural relationships which can be the object of analysis and discussion. This thesis is supplemented by an accompanying website in an attempt to make the findings of the research available to other teachers as well as to students and to encourage the building of links between different texts and the critical analysis of such links.

#### **1.4 Research methodology**

This is a hermeneutic thesis meant to reconstruct and enlarge upon a corpus that has not been previously systematised in the terms described. The methodology followed is, of necessity, fairly straightforward, and can be summarized in the following steps:

- Reading of bibliography on Anglo-Argentine literature to identify texts that could be potentially incorporated to the corpus.
- Informal interviews with writers, librarians and members of Anglo-Argentine families who could provide information or manuscripts.
- Search for the texts identified. Most of the texts from the earliest period have been found in the archives of the National Public Library in Buenos Aires (special collections), the cultural Library of the Asociación Argentina de Cultura Inglesa and the Anglo-Argentine archives at the Universidad de San Andrés, Victoria, Buenos Aires. Digital facsimiles have been invaluable and the links to such texts form an important part of the website, as teachers and students may not have access to the libraries mentioned.
- Reading of theoretical bibliography to decide on how to approach the classification and critical analysis of the texts identified.
- Preliminary definition of Anglo-Argentine literature on the basis of the reading.
- Outline of the development of Anglo-Argentine writing as related to the history of Argentina and British and American presence in the country (chapter 3). This has led to decisions concerning the identification of different stages and the definition has been extended, as a result, to

include the writing of texts about Argentina in English by writers who would not be classified as Anglo-Argentine on the basis of their ancestry.

- Selection and classification of the texts found, according to bibliography and the definition proposed.
- Identification of a thematic focus for the analysis, as stated on pages 4 and 5: the thesis traces the *construction of the other* in early texts (chapter 4) and how this *representation* is reinforced or modified in later works (chapters 5 and 6). *The other* is understood both as the *unfamiliar landscape* and the *native inhabitants*.
- Analysis on the basis of post-colonial theory and the notion of *transculturation* (Cf. p.48).
- Choice of two 'focus texts' for detailed analysis. The first text is *Faith Hard Tried* by Jane Robson, one of the few works in the corpus whose narrator/protagonist is a woman. The second is a collection of poems by Andrew Graham-Yooll, *Se Habla Spanglés*. Written in a combination of English and Spanish, the poems open questions on language and identity. They represent an early and a recent example of Anglo-Argentine literature respectively, which allows us to see whether the representations of self and other in early texts are reinforced or changed in recent writing.
- Trialling of two texts in class over a period of four years (2005-2009) in the Contemporary Literature course for future teachers and translators at the Instituto Nacional Superior del Profesorado en Lenguas Vivas 'Juan Ramón Fernández' in Buenos Aires. The detailed observations (in my

own journal and by two observers), as well as the worksheets and interviews and the hypertextual webs built by students, provide data for further study. Although this was initially meant to be the focus of the research, it is beyond the scope of this hermeneutic thesis, which deals with the complexity of the corpus identified, the difficulties in defining it and the analysis of the thematic areas considered relevant for intercultural reading. However, the experience has influenced the selection of the thematic focus for analysis, which is derived from students' interest in how others see Argentinians and their reactions to stereotyping.

- Identification of areas for further study.
- Making the research findings available on the website described on page 5. Experimental intercultural activities were designed for different classes and are available on the webpage at: <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=9&CategoryId=9>.

The worksheets and the action-research questionnaire used at the Instituto Nacional Superior del Profesorado en Lenguas Vivas 'Juan Ramón Fernández' are also provided among the intercultural activities so that they can become the object of further study.

## 2. Literature Review

The overview of reading below is subdivided into sections according to the strands described above (Cf. p. 7), but these areas often overlap, contributing to the interdisciplinary nature of the study.

### 2.1 Intercultural studies

#### 2.1.i Defining culture

All discussions of interculturalism derive from a certain concept of culture, but as Raymond Williams (1981) has stated, this is an 'exceptionally complex term' whose history and usage he himself studied in books such as *Culture and Society 1780-1950* (1961/1966).

Beginning as a noun of process –the culture (cultivation) of crops or (rearing and breeding) of animals, and by extension the culture (active cultivation) of the human mind– it became in the late eighteenth century, especially in German and in English, a noun of *configuration or generalization* of the 'spirit' which informed the 'whole way of life' of a distinct people. Herder (1784–91) first used the significant plural, 'cultures', in deliberate distinction from any singular or [...] unilinear sense of 'civilization'. The broad pluralist term was then especially important in the nineteenth century development of comparative anthropology, where it has continued to designate a whole and distinctive way of life.

(Williams 1981: 10)

The concerns of this study can be contextualised by referring to the rise of Cultural Studies in Britain in the 1950s, which, as John Corbett (2007) states,

developed out of a reaction against a dominant university tradition of English literature which had developed since the 19th century. This dominant tradition had its seeds in Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* (1869 reprinted 1960) and in the 20<sup>th</sup> century it was principally associated with influential literary critics such as T.S. Eliot, F.R Leavis, Q.D. Leavis and L.C. Knights. These critics generally viewed literature as a storehouse of civilised values, and the appreciation of a defined canon of 'great' literature was effectively synonymous with being able to discriminate between the civilised values of the minority and the barbarism of the masses.

(Corbett 2007: 15-16)

Corbett (2007: 16) and Ashcroft (2001: 14) highlight Richard Hoggart's *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) as the book which opened the way for a re-evaluation of 'culture' and denounced the narrowness of the 'great tradition' described in the quotation above. Then Raymond Williams, in *The Long Revolution*, introduced the notion of culture as 'a whole way of life' (1961: 63) rather than the possession of a few.

Later in the century, in the 1981 text quoted above, Williams summarises the development of the concept of culture:

[...] there was a strong development of the sense of 'culture' as the active cultivation of the mind. We can distinguish a range of meanings from (i) *a developed state of mind* –as in 'a person of culture', 'a cultured person' to (ii) *the processes of this development* –as in 'cultural interests', 'cultural activities' to (iii) *the means of these processes* –as in culture as 'the arts' and 'humane intellectual works'.

In our own time (iii) is the most common general meaning, though all are current.

The difficulty of the term is then obvious, but can be most usefully seen as the result of earlier kinds of convergence of interests. We can distinguish two main kinds: (a) an emphasis on the 'informing spirit' of a whole way of life, which is manifest over the whole range of social activities but is most evident in 'specifically cultural' activities –a language, styles of art, kinds of intellectual work; and (b) an emphasis on 'a whole social order' within which a specifiable culture, in styles of art and kinds of intellectual work, is seen as the direct or indirect product of an order primarily constituted by other social activities.

(Williams 1981: 11 - 12)

Williams then identifies a new tendency in contemporary work on culture which

[...] has many elements in common with (b), in its emphasis on a whole social order, but ... differs from it in its insistence that 'cultural practice' and 'cultural production' (its most recognizable terms) are not simply derived from an otherwise constituted social order but are themselves major elements in its constitution. It then shares some elements with (a), in its emphasis on cultural practices as (though now among others) *constitutive*. But instead of the 'informing spirit' which was held to constitute all other activities, it

sees culture as the signifying system through which necessarily (though among other means) a social order is communicated, reproduced, experienced and explored.

(Williams 1981: 12-13)

The Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies (CCCS) in Birmingham, through the work of Hoggart and Williams among others, can be said to have laid the foundations of the discipline today called 'cultural studies'. The centre published *The Empire Strikes Back* in 1982 and this book marked an epistemological watershed: from then on, culture was conceived as *difference*, that is, as a plurality of subjectivities coexisting in the same social space (Mellino 2008: 67). *The Empire Strikes Back* discusses questions of ethnicity and racism at discursive level. The CCCS text inaugurated 'the conceptual rethinking of the dynamics of ethnicity in the social process, bringing its approach increasingly closer to the interests and themes of post-colonial studies' (Mellino 2008: 68 - 69, my translation).

James Clifford's concept of *travelling cultures* (1997) is a more recent attempt to describe 'the postcolonial condition of culture' (Mellino 2008: 115), rethinking the way 'cultural analysis constitutes its objects – societies, traditions, communities, identities – in spatial terms and through specific spatial practices of research' (Clifford 1997: 19). This view implies

conceiving cultures as phenomena in permanent movement, as the constantly unfinished product of contacts, meetings and fusions, but also of conflicts and resistance originated by the interaction of what is "inside" (local) and what comes from "outside" and "goes through" (global).

(Mellino 2008: 116, my translation)

Clifford's use of the adjective 'travelling' is not to be taken literally, for it embraces not only 'the ways people leave home and return, enacting differently centered (*sic*) worlds, interconnected cosmopolitanisms' (1997: 27-

28) but also ‘sites traversed,’ as ‘the travel, or displacement, can involve forces that pass powerfully *through* –television, radio, tourists, commodities, armies.’

(Clifford 1997: 28). In Clifford’s use, ‘travel’ is a ‘translation term’.

By “translation term” I mean a word of apparently general application used for comparison in a strategic and contingent way. “Travel” has an inextinguishable taint of location by class, gender, race, and a certain literariness. It offers a good reminder that all translation terms used in global comparisons – terms like “culture”, “art”, “society”, “peasant”, “mode of production”, “man”, “woman”, “modernity”, “ethnography” – get us some distance *and* fall apart. *Traduttore, traduttore*. In the kind of translation that interests me most, **you learn a lot about peoples, cultures and histories different from your own, enough to begin to know what you are missing.**

(Clifford 1997: 39, my emphasis)

Clifford’s concept of *translation*, understood as movement, both from one language to another and from one cultural locus to another, seems particularly suitable to frame the intercultural operations aimed at in this study and is referred to in chapters 6 and 7 (pp. 232, 244, 269).

### 2.1.ii Discourse

The considerations summarised in the previous section lead to reflections that seem directly relevant to the central research questions (cf. p. 7). If culture is a signifying system (Williams 1981 on p. 13), the processes through which meaning is *communicated* and *interpreted* are essential for an understanding of a culture and the ways it comes into contact with other cultures, an issue which is becoming more and more pressing in the light of spreading globalisation. Language, as one of the cultural forms through which social development is manifested, then becomes central to the study of culture and intercultural relationships.

Within this perspective, language, which is 'never value-free' (Pulverness 1996), should not only be studied as a linguistic system but as *discourse*. Foucault maintains that discourse does not 'translate' reality into language: discourse structures the way we think and perceive reality, it constrains our perceptions:

... in every society the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed by a certain number of procedures whose role is to ward off its powers and dangers, to gain mastery over its chance events, to evade its ponderous, formidable materiality.

Foucault (1981: 51)

Every society accepts a certain discourse and 'makes it function as true' (Foucault 1980: 131 in Holliday et al. 2004). Dominant groups produce a system of arbitrary values and knowledge that subaltern subjects experience as a system of truth. Such discourses produce the reality not only of the subjects they represent but of the individuals or social groups they depend on.

The discursive constructions of a literary corpus can contribute to creating representations that a power group can hold as true. In time, such representations will be 'naturalised', uncritically assumed to be the only truth. This seems to apply to the binary oppositions between Anglos and native population in Anglo-Argentine literature (Cf. pp. 108/109, 122, 146).

According to Gee, the 'ever-changing conversation... between the Discourses of 'being Indian' and 'being Anglo'', which he recognises in the USA, Canada and New Zealand, is a long-standing one. This conversation can be extended to the one between the Discourses of being Indian, Gaucho, Creole, Mestizo, immigrant and 'being Anglo' in the Argentine context.

Intriguingly, we humans are very often unaware of the history of these conversations, and thus, in a deep sense, not fully aware of what we mean when we act and talk. (Gee 1999: 17-18)

Discourse analysis can help us become aware of ‘what underlies language in terms of such things as values, beliefs, attitudes, intentions, political considerations and historical ‘baggage’’ (Holliday et al. 2004: 75). The analysis of Anglo-Argentine texts in chapters 4, 5 and 6 focuses on underlying attitudes and assumptions that can make these texts useful to develop this awareness through critical language study (Fairclough 1995: chapter 9) , but, as Alan Pulverness warns us,

One of the problems with much cultural teaching in the past has been its tendency to perpetuate a fossilised version of Culture with a capital “C” [...] Literature has been a key element in a model of Culture (with a capital C). A special status is still ascribed to literature and at times it is taken to be synonymous with the very idea of culture itself.

(Pulverness 1996: 44)

This preconception may become an area of resistance to innovation in curriculum design for the training of teachers and translators, perpetuating a hegemonic view (Gramsci, 1971) of what should be consumed as ‘English Literature’ and rejecting proposals aiming at reflection on the students’ own culture through an encounter with difference. In this case, action research needs to be implemented to identify areas of resistance and find ways to implement change (Cf. chapter 7). Such concerns are beyond the scope of this thesis, but the accompanying website is meant to provide materials for such research and a space to voice participants’ views.

### **2.1.iii Third cultures**

Alan Pulverness’s article quoted from above advocates a process-based, inter-cultural model, one which reflects ‘the intimate and reciprocal relationships between language learning and cultural learning’ (1996: 44). It offers a starting

point for classroom alternatives which integrate the study of language and literature within an intercultural approach.

Such proposal is based upon the seminal work of Claire Kramsch (1993) and her notion of *third cultures*:

There are around the world an increasing number of culturally 'displaced' persons, who have grown up in one culture but, having emigrated to another country, raise their family and are active professionally in a culture that is not their own. Their many testimonies give voice to feelings of being forever 'betwixt and between', no longer at home in their original culture, nor really belonging to the host culture.

But these feelings of being on the fence, so to speak, are only a dramatic manifestation of social ruptures that have always existed within seemingly homogeneous families, and other social and ethnic groups, as soon as an individual crosses the lines of race, social class, gender expectations, or sexual preferences. [...] even though we are of the same nationality and social class, 'my' country might not be 'your' country, and your understanding of our social class might not be the same as mine

[...]

The stories of such border crossings and of the 'conversion' that leads a person to realize she is no longer the person she imagined herself to be are told over and over again by those who have lived them. [...] They belong to a stock of narratives that attempt to create a third culture, made of a common memory beyond time and place among people with similar experiences. [...] the telling of these boundaries makes participants become conscious of the paramount importance of context and how manipulating contextual frames and perspectives through language can give people power and control, as they try to make themselves at home in a culture 'of a third kind'.

(Kramsch 1993: 234-235)

Kramsch's description of 'third culture narratives' seems made to measure to discuss many of the Anglo-Argentine texts that are the object of this research.

Besides, for future educational research, her description poses the challenge of re-creating the defamiliarising effect of such narratives in the classroom by bringing the familiar and the foreign into comparative contact, as well as identifying and interpreting how writers 'manipulate frames and perspectives through language'.

#### **2.1.iv The backdrop to the research: the shift from the native speaker model to the intercultural speaker**

Traditionally, in most foreign language learning situations progress is assessed by comparing the learner's performance to that of an ideal native speaker. Almost thirty years ago, Van Ek (1986:33, in Byram 1997: 11) advocated the 'personal and social development of the learner as an individual' as one of the objectives of foreign language teaching and included 'socio-cultural competence' among the aims of language education. However, he suggested that the learner's utterances should bear the meaning that native speakers would normally attach to them.

Claire Kramsch (1993: 233-259), on the other hand, argues that learners have the right to use a foreign language for purposes of their own:

In fact what is at stake is the creation, in and through the classroom, of a social, linguistic reality that is born from the L1 speech environment of the L2 native speakers, but is a third culture in its own right.

(Kramsch 1993: 9)

These considerations underlie the model outlined in 2001 by the Council of Europe's *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, which claims that

... the aim of language education is profoundly modified. It is no longer seen as simply to achieve 'mastery' of one or two, or even three languages, each taken in isolation, with the 'ideal native speaker' as the ultimate model. Instead, the aim is to develop a linguistic repertory, in which all linguistic abilities have a place.

(Council of Europe, 2001:5)

The overall aim of foreign language education, thus, becomes the development of an *intercultural learner*:

The 'intercultural' learner is one who is linguistically adept (although not 'native speaker' proficient) who has skills which enable him or her to identify cultural norms and values that are

often implicit in the language and behaviour of the groups he or she meets, and who can articulate and negotiate a position with respect to those norms and values.

(Corbett 2007: 41)

This intercultural learner does not sacrifice his/her own mother tongue and the culture associated with it but enriches them through the learning of other languages:

In an intercultural approach, it is a central objective of language education to promote the favourable development of the learner's whole personality and sense of identity in response to the enriching experience of otherness in language and culture.

(Council of Europe, 2001:1)

#### **2.1.iv.a Defining the intercultural speaker**

In *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*, Michael

Byram defines the intercultural speaker in the following terms:

a learner with the ability to see and manage the relationships between themselves and their own cultural beliefs, behaviours and meanings as expressed in a FL [foreign language], and those of their interlocutors, expressed in the same language –or even a combination of languages- which may be the interlocutor's native language or not.

(Byram: 1997)

But what competences are involved in the development of an intercultural speaker? The *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* defines in these terms the *intercultural awareness* that such a speaker is expected to develop:

Knowledge, awareness and understanding of the relation (similarities and distinctive differences) between the 'world of origin' and the 'world of the target community' produce an intercultural awareness. It is, of course, important to note that intercultural awareness includes an awareness of regional and social diversity in both worlds. It is also enriched by awareness of a wider range of cultures than those carried by the learner's L1 and L2. This wider awareness helps to place both in context. In addition to objective knowledge, intercultural awareness covers an

awareness of how each community appears from the perspective of the other, often in the form of national stereotypes.

(Council of Europe, 2001: 43)

In section 5 of the *Framework*, the learner's competences involved in this model are described in detail. As regards 'intercultural skills and know-how', these include:

- the ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other;
- cultural sensitivity and the ability to identify and use a variety of strategies for contact with those from other cultures;
- the capacity to fulfil the role of cultural intermediary between one's own culture and the foreign culture and to deal effectively with intercultural misunderstanding and conflict situations;
- the ability to overcome stereotyped relationships.

(Council of Europe, 2001: 103 - 104)

These considerations mark a huge change in the aims of foreign language education, in response to growing globalisation and the urgent need to develop a culture of understanding.

#### **2.1.iv.b Text selection within an intercultural approach**

The *Curricular Design for the Teaching of Foreign Languages* in the City of Buenos Aires (Gobierno de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires, 2001), published in the same year as the *Common European Framework of Reference for Languages*, highlights the importance of developing intercultural competence:

Intercultural reflection aims at developing awareness of and respect for the differences –cultural, social, religious, racial, among others– that arise through contrast in the foreign language class [...] It is mainly a question of helping students become aware of the existence of the other and learn to co-exist with difference.

From this perspective, the teaching of foreign languages... contributes, beyond any doubt, to the construction of one's own sociocultural universe.

(38, my translation)

The development of intercultural awareness should be a paramount objective should in the training of foreign language teachers and translators. Traditionally, the texts to be read and analysed in literature courses within teacher-training and translation courses in Argentina can be said to belong to the 'canon' of English and American literature. In the last fifteen years, with the spread of post-colonial criticism in local literature departments, the curriculum has welcomed writers from the former British Empire, as well as Native American and Chicano writers, and has encouraged discussion on issues such as displacement and cultural identity.

Such texts challenge readers' schemata<sup>2</sup> (Smith 1975), for in order to understand and build meaning out of the text readers need to adapt their previous knowledge to the new knowledge and values expressed in it. English, as an international language, can open doors into a wide range of cultures that express themselves in English (or rather, a variety of 'englishes') as their mother tongue, as a second language or as the lingua franca that allows writers to reach an international audience (Ferradas 2006 b: 19). Eva Burwitz-Melzer claims that

Fictional texts are suitable for developing inter-cultural communicative competence in pupils of all ages. Not only do they invite their readers to view subjectively a nation or an ethnic group by portraying specific values, prejudices and stereotypes, but they also offer their audience the chance to exchange their culturally restricted points of view together with the hero or heroine in the narrative, or with the narrator telling the story.

(Burwitz-Melzer in Byram et al. 2001: 29)

Stories from different cultures written in different '*englishes*' open windows into diverse cultures, inviting students to see themselves in the fictional

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<sup>2</sup> Their previous knowledge, 'the *structures of expectation* established in [their] minds by the culture they live in' (Kramsch 1998: 27).

situations and, by means of this *'appropriation'*, reflect on their own values and prejudices. This encounter with the other is always informative, but often unsettling and disturbing, as it poses the challenge of making sense of the unfamiliar.

Making extensive use of texts from the 'post-colonial' world, teachers can invite future teachers and translators to explore cultural diversity while learning English. Adopting a comparative approach, teachers can encourage students to reflect on whether the experience of the other is relevant to their own context, and this may 'help us not only to build bridges into the culture of the other but also to develop awareness of our own context and circumstances' (Ferradas 2003: CD-Rom).

'The home culture as well as the target culture may well come into scrutiny in such programmes' (Corbett: 2007: 19). The teacher is not supposed to become a multicultural informant focusing on content or 'knowledge about' the foreign culture, instead,

'developing appropriate tools for intercultural exploration becomes one of the central goals of language education.

[...]

We need to attune the learner to the possibility of difference, and seek to explore how 'decentering from one's taken-for-granted world can be structured systematically in the classroom' (Byram & Fleming, 1998:7). This endeavour means going beyond the information gap and making people's use of language a topic of classroom exploration.

(Corbett 2007: 19 /24)

The 'intercultural materials' provided in the accompanying website (<http://claudiaferradas.net/intercultural.html>) are meant to achieve these aims.

Whether they are or not 'appropriate tools for intercultural exploration' will have to be decided on the basis of trialling and research in classrooms.

### 2.1.iv.c Literature and intercultural awareness

Apart from defining the intercultural speaker and so breaking with the native-speaker model, Byram (1997) describes in detail the components of intercultural communicative competence and identifies five *savoirs* (the knowledge and skills needed to mediate between cultures) which the author summarises as follows in 2008:

- *Attitudes*: curiosity and openness, readiness to suspend disbelief about other cultures and belief about one's own (*savoir être*).
- *Knowledge*: of social groups and their products and practices in one's own and in one's interlocutor's country, and of the general processes of societal and individual interaction (*savoirs*).
- *Skills of interpreting and relating*: ability to interpret a document or event from another culture, to explain it and relate it to documents from one's own (*savoir comprendre*).
- *Skills of discovery and interaction*: ability to acquire new knowledge of a culture and cultural practices and the ability to operate knowledge, attitudes and skills under the constraints of real-time communication and interaction (*savoir apprendre/faire*)
- *Critical cultural awareness/political education*: an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries (*savoir s'engager*)

(Byram 2008: 69)

Corbett (2007), based on Pulverness's proposal (1996), wonders what contribution literary, media and cultural studies can make to the development of these 'savoirs'. These reflections are to be seen against the backdrop of studies which challenged the traditional view of literature as

... a discipline whose teachers promoted themselves as no less than the guardians of civilised values, values which were themselves stored in 'the great tradition' of writing in English. The energies of the profession were –and in some places still are– directed towards discriminating between those works that enshrine eternal values that deserve to be celebrated and preserved (i.e. 'canonical' texts) and those works that do not.

[...]

In the context of the Anglophone countries, this process can now be seen as the imposition of white, middle-class male values via a literary canon; in an overseas (and especially a post-colonial)

context, the process can further be viewed as an imperialistic project, however well-intentioned its proponents might be (cf. Phillipson, 1992).

(Corbett 2007: 167 / 171)

Two seminal works which challenged this conception and presented alternative strategies are Widdowson (1975) and Brumfit and Carter (1986). Then John McRae (1991) proposed the demystification of literature so that 'literature with a small 'l' found its way back into the classroom. Over the last twenty five years, numerous publications have discussed ways of integrating literature and language teaching, especially but not only in the ELT context, such as: Carter & Long (1987 and 1991); Collie & Slater (1987); Bombini (1989); Short (1989); Bassnett & Grundy (1993); Lazar (1993); Sell (1995); Carter & McRae (1996); Duff & Maley (1990); Hall (2005). Pope (1995) integrates reading and creative writing through textual intervention, and Pulverness (2003) and Ferradas (2007) explore ways in which the intercultural perspective can innovate materials design and classroom practice respectively. These authors advocate the use of literature in the language class for language development and language awareness, and for the development of 'the *thinking skill*' (McRae 1991: 47), 'encouraging interaction, interpretation and the evaluation of the texts and their contents' (McRae 1991: 51), which involves focusing on *reader response* (Eco 1962 / 1979, Iser 1971, Rosenblatt 1978, Jauss 1982, Suleiman & Crosman 1980).

Cultural awareness is a central aim of this approach to literature, as no matter how 'foreign' a text may seem to be,

The relevance gap is bridged by identification of (if not necessarily with) different ways of seeing the world, and the range of ways of expressing such a vision.

(McRae 1991: 55)

It is my contention that Anglo-Argentine literature can contribute to developing Byram's *savoirs*, critical cultural awareness in particular. This belief underlies the selection, classification and analysis of the works discussed in this thesis.

## **2.2 Anglo-Argentine literature**

### **2.2.i Travel writing**

Before attempting any selection and analysis of a body of texts, it is essential to define what works will be grouped under the generic title *Anglo-Argentine literature*, a field which has not been explicitly defined. In his book on the British community in Argentina, Andrew Graham-Yooll (1999) draws a distinction between travel writing in English about Argentina and 'Anglo-Argentine' writing, devoting separate chapters to each (chapters 13 and 14). Within this distinction, travel writing refers to 'travellers' literature' by Anglophone writers whose style

... relied strongly on the personal impression of the authors [...] The private opinions were supplemented with immense detail on the geographical, social and political description of the country. Information of commercial interest [...] was also included in considerable detail'

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 191).

Graham-Yooll's view of this kind of travel writing is highly inclusive:

The British authors had no special class or category. The most read books in Argentina include one by a priest, Thomas Falkner, in the eighteenth century; one by the first British consul to Argentina, Woodbine Parish, in the middle of the nineteenth century; and one by a merchant, George Chaworth Musters, who wrote on Patagonia in the second half of the century. Writers include soldiers and sailors, adventurers, naturalists, physicians and churchmen.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 191)

Within travel writing, Falkner's text seems to belong to a category of its own as a pioneer (Cf. pp. 83-87). Scott Myers, in his 'Survey of British Literature on Buenos Aires during the First Half of the 19th Century,' identifies an early 19<sup>th</sup> century text by John Contanse Davie (1805), in fact written in the 1790s (Cf. p. 88), but this text is not listed by Graham-Yooll or Adolfo Prieto. The latter selects a corpus of fifteen titles written between 1820 and 1835, a body of work which built 'an image of the country on the basis of very specific patterns of selection and hierarchy' which, he claims, was highly influential on the foundational works of the Argentine literary canon (Prieto 2003: 11, my translation). This claim is not new in literary studies (Martínez Estrada 1958, Viñas 1971, Cicerchia 1998, Torres 2003, Andermann 2003) but Prieto's contribution consist in analysing the textual network in which such works were inscribed and how they may have been read by the major foundational figures of Argentine literature: Juan Bautista Alberdi, Esteban Echeverría, José Mármol and Domingo Faustino Sarmiento.

The literary series identified by Prieto can be said to follow Alexander Von Humboldt's *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, published in London in 1818, in that the texts listed 'legitimated expansionism as a civilising enterprise' (Prieto 2003: 23, my translation), an ideological construct that found its way into the early works of the Argentine literary canon through the recurrent civilisation-barbarism binary (as in Sarmiento's subtitle to one of his novels: *Facundo. Civilización y Barbarie*).

The works selected by Prieto, taking into account the dates of the trips in chronological order (not the date of publication), are the following:

- MIERS, John (1826). *Travels in Chile and La Plata*, 2 Vols., London: Baldwin, (1970) New York: AMS Press.
- CALDCLEUGH, Alexander (1825). *Travels in South America, during the Years 1819-1820-1821*. London.
- PROCTOR, Robert (1825). *Narrative of a Journey Across the Cordillera de los Andes... In the Years 1823 and 1824*. Edinburgh, Hurst & Robinson.
- SCHMIDTMEYER, Peter (1824). *Travels into Chile over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821*. London: Longman, Hurst, Rees.
- HEAD, Francis B. (1826). *Rough Notes Taken During some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes*. London: John Murray.
- ANDREWS; Joseph (1827) *Journey from Buenos Ayres Through the Provinces of Cordova, Tucuman and Salta to Potosi. Thence by the Deserts of Caranja to Africa, and Subsequently to Santiago de Chile and Coquimbo*. 2 vols. London: John Murray. (1971) New York: AMS Press.
- TEMPLE, Edmond (1833) *Travels in Various Parts of Peru, Including a Year's Residence in Potosi*. 2 Vols. Philadelphia – Boston: Carey Lilly.
- HAIGH, Samuel (1831). *Sketches of Buenos Ayres, Chile and Peru*. London: Effingham Wilson.
- BEAUMONT, J.A. (1828). *Travels in Buenos Ayres, and the Adjacent Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*. London: unspecified publisher.
- BRAND, Charles (1828) *Journal of a Voyage to Peru: A Passage Across the Cordillera de los Andes in the Winter of 1827. Performed on Foot in the Snow, and a Journey Across the Pampas*. London: Henry Colburn.
- AN ENGLISHMAN (1825). *A Five Year's Residence in Buenos Ayres During the Years 1820 to 1825*. London: G.Herbert.
- WEBSTER, W.H.B. (1834). *Narrative of a Voyage to the Southern Ocean, in the Years 1828,1829,1830*. 2 Vols. London. (1970) Folkestone - London: Dawson of Pall Mall.
- CAMPBELL SCARLETT, Peter (1838). *South America and the Pacific: Comprising a Journey Across the Pampas and the Andes, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaíso, Lima and Panama: with Remarks upon the Isthmus*. London: Henry Colburn.
- FITZ –ROY, Robert (1839). *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, Between the Years 1826 and 1836, Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe*. 3 Vols. London: Henry Colburn.
- DARWIN, Charles (1839). *Journal and Remarks*. London: Henry Colburn.
- (1845/2001) *The Voyage of the Beagle*. New York: New American Library.

Prieto focuses on the way in which the texts form a network by citing their predecessors, sometimes borrowing themes and recurrent metaphors which contribute to building stereotypes. According to Prieto, Webster's report marks an interruption in the frequency of the visits by British travellers since 1820. In the 1830's, the presence of new travellers, Darwin, Fitz-Roy and Scarlett,

brings new life to the series, but the writings of each of these three travellers provides some kind of closure to the series (2003: 74).

While Darwin closes the series identified by Prieto, Torres (in Schwartzman 2003:519) claims that ever since the publication of Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* (1845), considered a 'travel model', the genre has developed recognisable though not mutually exclusive subtypes, such as the 'scientific trip', the 'adventure tour', the 'ladies' trip' (exile or return), the 'commercial' or 'spying' trip, among others. Significantly, one of the subtypes of this genre according to critical literature (Torres in Schwartzman 2003) is the 'English trip', which often intersects with the others and is particularly rich in its accounts of the exploration of Patagonia. In all cases, the factual report, often fictionalised, derives from experience. It always involves *estrangement* (Torres in Schwartzman 2003: 519) and an interest in the exotic aspects of the new continent, a kind of writing which is sometimes referred to as *Southamericana*. A clear example of this estrangement is the use of the recurrent simile comparing the pampas (the extensive Argentine plains) to the sea, an attempt to help intended readers imagine the unfamiliar by comparing it with the familiar (Cf. pp. 90, 105, 117, 118, 177).

### **2.2.ii Defining Anglo-Argentine Literature**

One of the questions to be addressed, then, is whether Anglo-Argentine writing is synonymous with 'the English trip' and, therefore, only a subtype of travel writing. This does not seem to be the case for Graham-Yooll, who, as

said above (Cf. p. 25), devotes two different chapters to 'Traveller's Tales and Other Writings' and "'Anglo Argentine" writing' respectively:

There is an Anglo-Argentine literature. Not very strong, not very well known (and in many cases does not deserve to be), but there are some individuals who fit the classification of "British-Argentine" or, better still "Southamericana", who are excellent and who have made their mark on the literature of a continent.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 205)

It is hard to tell what distinguishes this kind of writing from travel writing, where to draw the line between 'the English trip', 'Southamericana', 'British-Argentine writing' and other similar labels. Graham-Yooll sees a discouraging oversimplification in considering all Anglo-Argentine literature a form of travel writing:

Argentine readers bunch just about all the nineteenth century travellers to the River Plate with these literary figures of "Southamericana"... Academics, in their own way, have often managed to turn away the curious reader with treatises on travellers to the River Plate. Luckily they have not killed interest on the genre altogether.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 206)

This statement seems to suggest that Graham-Yooll can define the 'genre' as a whole, but in fact he never defines it explicitly, as the purpose of his book is not literary systematisation or analysis but a descriptive account.

On the basis of the imprecise distinction above, under the label 'Anglo-Argentine writing' Graham-Yooll includes diverse writers at different points in his discussion. Rearranged in chronological order on the next page, they form a list that is reorganised into series in chapters 4, 5 and 6. Within the gap between the first writer on the list (Falkner) and the second (Musters) there develops the writing by travelers and early settlers discussed in chapter 4.

- Thomas Falkner (Manchester, England 1702 - 1784)
- George Chaworth Musters (Naples, 1841 - London, 1879)
- William Henry Hudson (Quilmes, Province of Buenos Aires, Argentina 1841 - Worthing, England 1922)
- Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham (London 1852 - Buenos Aires 1936)
- Thomas Bridges (Bristol 1842 - Ushuaia, Argentina 1898)
- William Bulfin (Derrinlough, Co. Offaly, Ireland 1864 - 1910)
- Esteban Lucas Bridges (Ushuaia, Argentina 1874 - Buenos Aires 1949)
- John Masefield (Ledbury, Herefordshire, England 1878 - Berkshire, England 1967)
- Walter Hubbard Owen (Glasgow, Scotland 1884 - Buenos Aires 1953)
- Philip Guedalla (London 1889 - 1943/4?)
- William Shand (Glasgow, Scotland 1902/3 ? - 1997)
- David Bremer Wilson (Hampshire, England 1907 - Mercedes, Corrientes, Argentina 1986)
- George Mikes (Siklós, Hungary 1912 - London 1987)
- Bernard *Barney* Nelson Dickinson (1913 - San Martín de los Andes?, Argentina 1981)
- Gordon Oswald Reginald Meyer ( London 1919 - Tooting, England 1968)
- Nora B. Traill Mackinnon (Olivos, Buenos Aires 1921/2?)
- Gerald Durrell (Jamshedpur, India 1924 - St. Helier, Jersey, UK 1925 - 1995)
- Warren (David) Kieffer (1929 - 1995)
- Patrick Morgan (1934 - 2003)
- Bruce Chatwin (Sheffield, England 1940 - Nice, France 1989)
- Paul Theroux (Medford, Massachusetts, USA 1941 - )

Although the fictional stories of William Bulfin, for example, can be said to be based on an experience of estrangement, they show a complexity of character and plot construction that goes beyond the chronological account of explorations and even the personal impressions typical of travel writing. Similarly, the novels of William Henry Hudson, though clearly based on personal experience, can be classified as memoirs rather than travel writing, as they are based on childhood memories not always related to travelling. This is related to the fact that travellers to Argentina often become settlers, and the travel narrative derives in a personal narrative of cultural third places (Cf. p.17), as is the case of the 'focus text' by Jane Robson analysed on pages 147-156.

Both Prieto and Graham-Yooll are central sources in this research. The list of travel narratives analysed by the former is the backbone of chapter 4, not only in that it provides most of the titles discussed but also because of his observations concerning the representations of the other in those texts. Graham-Yooll, in turn, provides information on the Anglo-Argentine community that structures a good part of chapter 3 and his list of Anglo-Argentine works, updated in May 2010 (see p.36), has been instrumental in the compilation of my own reading list.

All the writers included by Graham-Yooll (except for the US born Warren Kieffer and Paul Theroux) are British visitors or immigrants, British writers interested in the country (such as the British poet laureate John Masefield), or Argentine descendants of British immigrants (thus his use of the term 'British-Argentine'). Strictly speaking, this label leaves out not only the two writers mentioned above but the most widely recognised writer on the list, William Henry Hudson, who, although he spent his last years in London, where he also did most of his writing, had been born in Argentina to American parents. Besides, the label 'British' becomes polemic when it is used to include Irish writers such as William Bulfin, whose son Eamonn, born in Argentina, was involved in revolutionary Irish politics and took part in the Easter Rising. As will be seen in the analysis of his work (pp. 181-187), his use of language is a hybrid made up of English, Spanish and Irish, a language he defended as a passionate nationalist.

In this respect, it is relevant to consider whether the linguistic medium contributes to the definition. Benito Lynch, for example, one of the best known Argentine writers of the first half of the twentieth century and the descendant

of Irish immigrants who arrived in Argentina before the war of independence, produced all his literature in Spanish. This seems to be the reason why he is usually ranked among the best *Argentine* rather than *Anglo-Argentine* writers, although his novel *El inglés de los güesos* (*The Englishman of the Bones*) has a clear intercultural focus which coincides with the thematic interests of many so-called Anglo-Argentine writers.

In the light of the intercultural concerns behind this study, **I propose to apply the label ‘Anglo-Argentine literature’ to define a third place where cultures meet and where the word ‘Anglo’ refers to the English language, used as the medium of expression to write factual or fictional accounts on Argentina, irrespective of the national origin of the writer.** Therefore, travel writing in English (whether fact, fiction or faction) will fall within this category, as will any literary texts written in English about Argentina. On the other hand, writers like Rodolfo Walsh, Benito Lynch or Carlos Feiling, all ‘Anglo-Argentine’ by birth, are not included within this body of work because they write in Spanish, though any intertextual study would certainly profit from their inclusion.

However, the adjective ‘Anglo-Argentine’, as can be seen from its use above, can be understood as having a narrower sense. It is traditionally applied to the ‘Anglo-Argentine community’ (the community of English speakers of British stock based in Argentina). The definition of this community and the way they perceive themselves and are perceived by others today is a major aim in Graham-Yooll’s work:

The Scots settled, as they do anywhere, and ruled Patagonia and the Falkland (Malvinas) Islands, farming... The English never put

down roots, as they seldom do outside of their island; but their influence was everywhere, especially on commerce. The building of the Argentine railways is the best-known symbol of the English presence on Argentina; but they also were strong in other public services and had a part in most other fields of business. The Irish went as cheap labour, eventually to carve their way into the country's life, from town founders to holders of the highest offices in the nation's government. And then there were the Welsh. They developed their own valley in Northern Patagonia as from 1865... They fostered the memory of Wales and their forbears who landed on the beach of what is today Puerto Madryn, resisted assimilation and tried to keep their language. You can still hear it spoken sometimes on buses in the Chubut valley.

[...]

The British, were, however, among the smallest of the immigrant communities... Spanish and Italians formed the bulk of the 'Argentines'. In 1914, out of a population of nearly eight million, Britons numbered fewer than 28,000 in a registered foreign-born population of 2-3 million. **The British stubbornly refused to accept their being categorized as immigrants which signified a drop in social class. The British were visitors.**

(Graham-Yooll, 1999: 1-2, my emphasis)

As Florencia Cortés Conde shows in a case study based on 268 questionnaires, even people who are supposed to be members of the community today find it is hard to define what makes someone an Anglo-Argentine or not (2007: 95). The case study aims at determining what kind of bilingualism (whether transitional or stable) can be perceived in the 'Anglo-Argentine community'. Even her initial description of this community reveals identity difficulties: she describes it as 'a community of fifteen thousand people disseminated in a city of ten million inhabitants' (Cortés Conde 2007: 17, my translation). This means she has only focused on the urban, highly commercial, British community that settled in the River Plate area, not the settlers mentioned by Graham-Yooll that became farm hands, cattle drivers, winery managers or landowners in the fields of the Buenos Aires Province, Mendoza and Patagonia. Even within this narrow focus, the 'city of ten million inhabitants' is not really Buenos Aires, the capital of Argentina, but also its surrounding

areas, as is clear from the location of the schools where questionnaires were distributed.

Within the Buenos Aires/Greater Buenos Aires area, then, Cortés Conde got 268 replies to the 600 questionnaires distributed, and 88% of the respondents agreed on the use of the phrase 'Anglo-Argentine community', but 'once this agreement was reached, the meaning of the phrase was under discussion' (Cortés Conde 2007: 95, my translation). Some answers show that 'Anglo-Argentine' is considered synonymous with 'British-Argentine', while others claim that 'the descendants of Americans should be considered within the community'. Some make a distinction between the English-speaking community of British stock and the Anglo-Argentines, as the latter are Argentine-born and do not care much about British customs and traditions. Others simply fail to identify an Anglo-Argentine community altogether (Cortés Conde 2007: 95).

In the light of the multiple identities expressed by the participants in the case study, Florencia Cortés Conde analyses the role of English within the community, its preservation or loss, as an identity feature. As opposed to bilingual minorities such as the Hispanic community in the US, the Anglo-Argentines in and around Buenos Aires are perceived as a prestigious and socioeconomically advantaged group. Speaking English was a mark of belongingness to that prestigious community. Cortés Conde analyses the loss of English as the 'language of the home' and, therefore, as a distinctive community feature. The fact that English has become a language with instrumental value used by more and more speakers outside the community

adds to this process as does the need to choose between a British or an Argentine identity during and after the Malvinas/Falklands war.

The identity issues derived from these perceptions show the complex intercultural considerations which this kind of literature encourages readers to reflect on. They also invite us to wonder how a small community, which today find it hard to identify themselves as such, managed to become so influential and so prestigious, and whether their writing has had an important role in the construction of such perceptions. The conclusions derived from Cortés Conde's case study are referred to in chapter 6 (Cf. p. 211) to define Anglo-Argentine identity/ies.

The works written in English by consecrated Argentine writers such as Jorge Luis Borges pose new classification problems, as does the continuously growing corpus of literature written in English by Argentinians who choose English as their medium of expression, as members of the 'expanding circle' (Kachru 1985) rather than because they have been born into an English-speaking family (Cf. chapter 7, pp. 272-274). It is to avoid these taxonomic hurdles and to include a wide range of titles that will encourage intercultural awareness that both language (English) and content (about Argentina) have been taken as criteria to define a work as Anglo-Argentine in this study.

As stated on p. 4, it is not the purpose of this study to draw a full list of the authors and works which could be classified as Anglo-Argentine within the field defined above. The corpus may appear deceptively small at first sight but, in fact, a long list could be drawn, particularly of travel writing. Numerous scholarly publications have been written on this genre, and interest has

recently been rekindled, especially within the field of comparative studies (Aguilar & Dudgeon 1992; Hennessy & Kings 1992; Walter 1992; Duplancic de Elgueta 1998; Julianello 2000; Izarra 2001; Livon-Grosman 2001 & 2003, López 2003; Murray 2003; Vásquez 2005). A list of selected works within the definition proposed above is provided in chapter 8, pp. 279-285. It is intended as a contribution to delimiting the field and opening discussion on the construction of a third place where cultures meet.

On May 25 2010 the *Buenos Aires Herald* published a special Bicentenary edition focusing on Anglo-Argentine identity on occasion of the Bicentennial anniversary of Argentina. On page 5 of the supplement, in an article entitled “‘Anglo-Argentine’ literature: a personal survey’, Graham-Yooll updates his list:

...there is a growing list of writers whose work assures that an “Anglo-Argie” literature does exist. Not all of them are/were residents in these lands. However, a nation’s bicentenary does serve as a good excuse to review the matter.

Although Graham-Yooll claims that his ‘own choice of “Anglo-Argentines” is vast and growing’, most of the authors he adds are non-fiction/history writers:

In recent times I would add to the list such names as Tom Hudson, for his well-researched biographies of Admiral Brown and General Miller, and Dereck Foster, though more for his history books than his cookery.

In the same vein, he includes ‘Susan Wilkinson, with her impressive research into the life and times of the Welsh in Chubut’, but omits her romance *Sebastian’s Pride*.

The only writers in the article to be added to our list, then, are ‘the English writer (daughter of an Anglo-Argentine mother) Santa Montefiore (born 1970,

author of the novel, *Meet Me Under the Ombú Tree*, 2001)' and Graham-Yooll himself, as he omits his own work from the article and from his previous publications on 'Anglo-Argentine' writing.

### **2.2.iii Anglo-Argentine literature and post-colonial theory**

#### **2.2.iii.a Defining the post-colonial**

Post-colonial studies offer the theoretical framework to approach the texts selected in terms of representations of the other and construction of identity. Post-colonial theory can be traced back to the work of Frantz Fanon (1961/1965, 1986) and is used to group together the voices of such diverse scholars as Said (1978), Spivak (1988, 1999) and Bhabha (1985, 1990, 1994), especially after the publication of Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin's *The Empire Writes Back* in 1989. These authors use the term *post-colonialism* to refer to 'the world as it exists *during and after* the period of European imperial domination and the effects of this on contemporary literatures' (Ashcroft et al. 1989/2001: 2, my emphasis) and 'to cover all the culture affected by the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day,' as well as to refer to the 'new cross cultural criticism that has emerged in recent years and ... the discourse through which this is constituted' (Ashcroft et al. 1989/2001: 2).

Rob Pope explains,

Like poststructuralism and post-modernism, the term expresses a state which is both continuous with and distinct from that which it succeeds. Postcolonialism, more narrowly and historically defined, is usually understood to refer to those countries which achieved formal political independence from Britain (and from other Western European powers) from the mid-twentieth century onwards....

(1998: 141)

The latter is the case with Elleke Boehmer's use of the word 'postcolonial' (without a hyphen, as in Pope's narrower use) in her introduction to the topic. She draws a clear distinction between the 'colonial' and the 'postcolonial', whereas Ashcroft et al. define the 'post-colonial' (hyphenated) as an all-inclusive term: 'the imperial process from the moment of colonization to the present day'.

For Boehmer,

Colonialism involves the consolidation of imperial power, and is manifested in the settlement of territory, the exploitation or development of resources, and the attempt to govern the indigenous inhabitants of occupied lands. [...] Colonial literature... will be taken to mean writing concerned with colonial perceptions and experience, written mainly by metropolitans, but also by creoles and indigenes, during colonial times. Controversially, perhaps, colonial literature therefore includes literature written in Britain as well as in the rest of the Empire during the colonial period. [...] Colonialist literature was informed by theories concerning the superiority of European culture and the rightness of empire. [...] postcolonial literature is that which critically scrutinizes the colonial relationship. [...] To give expression to colonized experience, postcolonial writers sought to undercut thematically and formally the discourses which supported colonization – the myths of power, the race classifications, the imagery of subordination.

(Boehmer 1995: 2-3)

However clearly defined and useful these distinctions may be, more complex and flexible definitions of (post-)colonialism imply awareness of the simultaneity of a colonial and postcolonial status. Britain, for example, still holds colonial possessions such as Gibraltar and the Malvinas/Falkland Islands and, within Britain, countries like Scotland and Wales, not to mention Northern Ireland, may see themselves as colonised.

Ashcroft et al.'s definition above, given the ambiguous nature of Anglo-Argentine literature as regards (post-)colonial status (Cf. p. 53) and its clear adherence to an ethos of European superiority, seems more appropriate for the

purposes of this study. However, categories proposed by both Ashcroft and Boehmer are used in the analysis: Falkner and Davie, writing before the 1810 revolution which marked the end of Spanish colonial rule, are labeled as 'colonial'. But although the post-colonial perspective offers useful concepts to approach Anglo-Argentine texts (see 2.2.ii), it may prove limited in the light of the complexity of the encounters discussed, especially in the most recent texts (Cf. pp. 29-37 & 53).

A term such as *Neo-colonialism* (meaning 'new-style' colonialism), which generally means the exercise of international power through economic and commercial rather than military means, is often used to refer to the on-going nature of the phenomenon in the modern world. This term may be applicable when analysing Anglo-Argentine texts published in the late twentieth century. Besides, in the light of globalisation, new terms have been coined to account for the unprecedented coming into contact of different cultures. Such is the case of *multiculturalism* and *interculturalism*.

*Multiculturalism* can be briefly defined as 'awareness of the distinctively plural and hybrid nature of *all* cultures' (Pope 1995: 141). It can mean *multiracial*, *multi-ethnic* or refer to *cultural differences of all kinds*, including differences of class, rank, gender, occupation, age, etc. – as well as race and ethnicity (Pope 1995: 142).

According to Pope,

Though broad and potentially bland, this extended sense of *Multiculturalism* has the great advantage that it does not concentrate upon one cultural difference to the potential exclusion of others. It recognises cultural differences to be plural and complexly interrelated.

[...] *Multiculturalism*, however, is a term that can be used in a superficial way. It can be used to promote the sense that everyone should simply 'get on' with one another, regardless of persisting disparities in access to education, work, housing, health care, etc. Then the concept simply papers over the cracks in a fundamentally unequal system.

(Pope 1995: 142)

The term '*Interculturalism*' seems to be the one that has replaced *Multiculturalism* in the literature (Cf. pp. 19-20) but, no matter what term is used, issues of power and inequality should not be overlooked when considering intercultural exchange and interaction.

### **2.2.iii.b Anglo-Argentine literature within the post-colonial framework**

Awareness of the colonial and postcolonial dimensions of English language literature and culture has increased dramatically over the past three decades. So has recognition of the fact that most English-speaking countries are fundamentally multicultural. In this light, it is interesting to explore the now classical taxonomy of varieties of English or "Englishes" drawn by Kachru (1985). According to his classification, the *Inner Circle* consists of the 'native English-speaking countries, e.g. Australia, Canada, New Zealand, the UK, and the USA'. The *Outer Circle* 'comprises the former colonies or spheres of influence of the UK and the USA, e.g. India, Kenya, Nigeria, the Philippines, Singapore, among others [where] nativised varieties of English have achieved the status of either an official language, or of a language widely used in education, administration, legal system, etc.' Finally, the *Expanding Circle* consists of 'countries where English is fast becoming a dominant second language in the domains of education, science and technology'.

In his report *English Next*, David Graddol challenges this classification:

In a globalised world, the traditional definition of 'second-language user' (as one who uses the language for communication within their own country) no longer makes sense. Also, there is an increasing need to distinguish between proficiencies in English, rather than a speaker's bilingual status.

Kachru himself has recently proposed that the 'inner circle' is now better conceived of as the group of highly proficient speakers of English – those who have 'functional nativeness' regardless of how they learned or use the language.

(Graddol 2006: 110)

Where within these models should Anglo-Argentine literature be placed? And can post-colonial critical categories help us understand its complexity and the relative position of the cultures that converge in it? Although a debate over labels and taxonomies can be considered futile, it leads us to reconsider the position of different items in the taxonomy, to question the underlying presuppositions that lurk behind terms. These considerations are expanded on in chapter 7.

At first sight, theory allows us to categorise Anglo-Argentine literature as one of the cultural products of a settler colony where 'the writer brings his (*sic*) own language –English– to an alien environment and a fresh set of experiences' (Maxwell in Ashcroft et al. 2001: 24). However, in many cases the writer is a visitor (often with a commercial or scientific agenda) to a *Spanish* settler colony which has by then become independent (all Anglo-Argentine texts except Falkner's and Davie's were written after the May Revolution).

Argentina has never officially been a British colony (except for a very brief period in 1806 and 1807) though the Malvinas Islands on the South Atlantic, considered part of the Argentine territory, have been in British hands since

January 1833. However, native attitudes towards British superiority, and nostalgia for the Arcadia that England lost in the unsuccessful invasions of 1806 and 1807 are recurrent themes in the early works listed above as Anglo-Argentine (Cf. pp. 169, 177, 216). Given the colonial features of writers' discourse, especially as regards their *representations* of themselves and the native population, post-colonial theory can still throw light on issues that are relevant to intercultural enquiry.

The central objectives in Said's *Orientalism* (1978), one of the foundational texts of post-colonial studies, is not so much to criticise the false view of the Orient in the collective imaginary of the West, but to question the legitimacy of Western criteria of representation - the way in which literary texts, scientific essays, administrative documents and other discursive practices constructed a certain way of seeing the Orient.

My contention is that without examining Orientalism as a discourse one cannot possibly understand the enormously systematic discipline by which European culture was able to manage – even produce – the Orient politically, sociologically, militarily, ideologically, scientifically, and imaginatively during the post-Enlightenment period.

(Said 1003: 3)

Based on Foucault's premises (1969 / 2002 & 1975), Said shows that all discourse on alterity can only be legitimated within the power system that has produced it. This research uses post-colonial theory to see whether this kind of construction of the other applies in Anglo-Argentine literature.

Besides, Homi Bhabha's notions of *hybridity and ambivalence* (1985) can prove useful to analyse the construction of a 'third place' (Kramsch 1993)

where the writer may act as cultural mediator or keep a colonial stance marked by discrimination:

Produced through the strategy of disavowal, the *reference* of discrimination is always to a process of splitting as the condition of subjection: a discrimination between the mother culture and its bastards, the self and its doubles, where the trace of what is disavowed is not repressed but repeated as something different – a mutation, a hybrid.

[...]

If the effect of colonial power is seen to be the *production* of hybridization rather than the noisy command of colonialist authority or the silent repression of native traditions, then an important change of perspective occurs. It reveals the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority and enables a form of subversion, founded on that uncertainty, that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention.

(Bhabha 1985 in Ashcroft et al. 2006 : 42 / 43)

In turn, James Clifford (1997) (Cf. p.13) extends the category of ‘travelling cultures’ to modern Western societies: if what is ‘local’ cannot be understood independently of its articulation with its other, the ‘traveller’, the opposite is also true. This coincides with Said’s views on the construction of self and other (Cf. p. 42) and those of Spivak (1985), Gilroy (1987) and Bhabha (1992), for whom *Englishness* cannot be defined without referring to Britain’s imperialistic project, aimed at ‘civilising’ the ‘barbarous’ peoples of the world. Clifford’s conception can prove particularly useful to understand the complex cultural identity of the contemporary Anglo-Argentine works discussed in chapter 6, but also Fitz-Roy’s and Darwin’s accounts of the habits of the Fuegian Indians (Cf. pp.129, 134).

However, if taken in the abstract rather than applied to concrete examples of cultural contact and hybridity, this emphasis on diaspora, flexibility, mobility,

nomadism, transnationalism, can be understood as a defence of the logic of global capitalism:

Outside Anglo-American academia... post-colonial criticism runs the risk of being perceived, rather than as an emerging form of theoretical and antisystemic radicalism, as one of the many faces of cultural imperialism. (Mellino 2008: 142, my translation)

Latin American intellectuals are often suspicious of the application of post-colonial categories to cultural products from the region:

To some, Latin America is under threat from a new colonizing movement called 'colonial and postcolonial discourse', yet another subjection, it would seem, to foreign formations and epistemologies from the English-speaking centres of global power. (Ashcroft 2001: 23)

According to Ashcroft

... post-colonialism is not a child of post-structuralism conceived in the metropolitan academy for the benefit of an annoyingly ungrateful post-colonial world. It is born from the struggle of colonized intellectuals to appropriate the discursive tools of imperial discourse and to interpolate their own realities and cultural activities into the global arena.

[...]

Objections to post-colonial analysis have been based on a limited and academically defensive view of the discourse. Post-colonial analyses have been a feature of Latin American intellectual life at least since the 1950's, but there remains a strong belief in the essential difference of Latin-American post-coloniality even by those who favour its approach.

(Ashcroft 2001: 25)

It is my contention that post-colonial categories can be critically applied to Anglo-Argentine literature if the corpus is contextualised within the whole process of colonisation by the Spaniards to the present day. In considering Anglo-Argentine literature and its impact on local culture, we should not overlook the anti-hispanism of early texts or the adoption of an imperial discourse by urban creole intellectuals who can be considered 'the colonised'. What is more, the story taught in Argentine schools about how the people of

Buenos Aires recovered the city from the hands of the British Army by throwing hot oil on the soldiers from the balconies is one of the historical myths of Argentina (Pigna 2005: 163-206) that needs to be revisited in the light of post-colonial concerns. Did the 'porteños' really reject the invasion? Did all the defeated leave? Was the loss effectively a loss or the way into more subtle forms of colonisation? Can this be seen in Anglo-Argentine literature?

The Argentine 'criollos' (white creoles), the mostly urban patriots who were the intellectual and sometimes military leaders in the fight for independence and in the constitution of the nation, often see themselves as European, as opposed to the native inhabitants and the 'mestizos' ('half-castes'). They are after all part of a 'settler colony' in that they are the descendants of Spanish colonisers, and many of them take pride in representing 'civilisation' against the 'barbarism' of the Indian and the lazy Gaucho, a theme that is a recurrent topic in the foundational years of Argentine literature, particularly in the 'gaucho genre' (Ludmer 1988, Schwartzman 2003). This genre represents the Gaucho as that which is authentically 'criollo' but it is through the gaze and the pen of white creole writers who often own large cattle ranches that this supposedly authentic voice reaches readers. In this respect, Said (1993) warns us of the dangers of a *nativism* which operates through the mystification of the pre-colonial past, as it can lead to a new type of imperialism, in this case in the hands of the new local élites in power.

The civilisation vs. barbarism binary is a recurrent motif in the writing of English travellers in the 19th century, as shown by Prieto (2003), who maintains that this discourse is appropriated by creole intellectuals to the point of advocating British immigration as a way of counteracting the indolence of

the native population. The way in which the discourse of European (and particularly British) superiority is inscribed in early Argentine literary and political discourse allows Marc Ferro to refer to Argentina as an example of 'imperialism without colonisation' (Ferro 1997 in Achcroft 2001: 22).

Successive waves of immigrants from Europe throughout the nineteenth century reinforce this tendency, and within the 'white European vs. Mestizo or Indian' binary opposition, the small Anglo-Argentine community is presented as opposed to the immigrant population of Italian and Spanish origin - more hard-working, more organized, more 'cultivated'. Jane Robson, the Scottish immigrant whose memoirs are analysed in chapter 4 (pp. 147-156) writes:

About this time, my mother had a baby who died when a month old. This became known, as my father had to go some league to get a little coffin, and the neighbours (Italian and Spanish) came to the house playing guitars dancing and singing. Mother became alarmed at the wild noise they made. Taking the little dead baby in her arms, my sister by the hand and I running beside her.

(Robson in Stewart 2000: 76)

As stated on pages 4 and 9, the corpus of Anglo-Argentine works defined as such and selected for this study are analysed in chapters 4 and 5 in terms of the binary opposition self-other, where the self stands for the white (British) European, civilised and industrious, while Indians, Gauchos, criollos and immigrants from Spain and Italy are seen as 'the other', as the barbarian, or as savage, lazy, violent and ignorant.

Binary oppositions are never neutral: power is expressed through them and one pole of the binary is the dominant one (Holliday et al. 108):

Language is not like a flowing stream, but is divided into discrete units (or words). Each word is distinct from all others. Another way of talking about these differences is in terms of binaries (the division into two). That is, the distinctiveness of words depends on a simple split between 'the word' and 'not the word'. The meaning of 'white', then, depends on differentiating it from what is 'non-

white' (or 'black' for instance). Words meaning depends, then, on differentiating between a *presence* and an *absence*, that which is designated by the word against what is not designated. To make sense in language is to speak in terms of presences, what is designated, against a backdrop of absences... the presences are privileged; they are brought into focus by the words themselves; the absences may only be there by implication; or we may simply forget them altogether. But take careful note: these presences would not make sense without the absences. Without the binary distinction there is no meaning.

(Gergen 1999: 27 in Holliday et al. 2004: 108).

This is related to the Derridean concept of 'différance':

*Différance* is what makes the movement of signification possible only if each so-called 'present' element, each element appearing on the scene of presence, is related to something other than itself, thereby keeping within itself the mark of a past element, and already letting itself be vitiated by the mark of its relation to a future element, this trace being related no less to what is called the future than to what is called the past, and constituting what is called the present by means of this very relation to what it is not, to what it absolutely is not: that is, not even to a past or a future as a modified present.

(Derrida 1968, in Bass 1982: 13)

Gayatri Spivak (1985) uses the term 'othering' to describe the mechanism by which the West constructed its 'others' and, in this way, its own identity (Cf. Said on p. 42). This process is referred to as 'otherisation' by Holliday et al. However we label this construction of self and other, it is important not to overlook the instances of self-representation the other may have as forms of resistance (Mellino 2008: 74).

The work of Mary Louise Pratt (1993) is a constant reference in the discussion of these issues (Cf. pp. 90-91), as she focuses on

how Spanish American writers in the early nineteenth century selected and adapted European discourse on America to their own task of creating autonomous decolonized cultures while retaining European values and white supremacy.

(Pratt 1993: 5)

While discussing ‘how travel books by Europeans about non-European parts on the world went (and go) about creating the “domestic subject” of Euroimperialism’ (4), in her ‘study in the dynamics of creole self-fashioning’ Pratt applies the notion of *transculturation*, a term of Latin American origin, which supports Aschcroft’s claim that ‘post-colonial analyses have been a feature of Latin American intellectual life at least since the 1950s’ (Cf. p. 44).

The term *transculturation* was coined in the 1940s by Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in a pioneering description of Afro-American culture, *Contrapunteo Cubano del tabaco y el azúcar* [*Cuban Counterpoint: Tobacco and Sugar*] (1947), ‘to replace the paired concepts acculturation and deculturation that described the transference of culture in reductive fashion imagined from within the interests of the metropolis’ (Pratt 1993: 228).

Transculturation is a phenomenon of what Pratt calls *the contact zone*: ‘the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict’ (Pratt 1993: 6). As opposed to acculturation, transculturation does not consist simply in acquiring a certain culture but also in the loss or dislocation of a preceding culture (a partial *deculturation*) and the resulting creation of new cultural phenomena (*neoculturation*).

In the mid 1970s, Angel Rama reformulated the term and incorporated it to literary studies in a series of articles which were developed in book form in 1985: *Transculturación narrativa en América Latina* [*Narrative Transculturation in Latin America*]. Rama’s notion of transculturation induces

'resistance to considering one's own traditional culture, which is to change under the impact of external forces, as an entirely passive or even inferior entity destined to huge loss, without any kind of creative response' (Rama 1985/2007: 40, my translation).

According to Abril Trigo,

Although Rama applies the term exclusively to literature, after him transculturation became a fundamental tool in the field of Latin American cultural theory, a sort of wild card capable of interweaving anthropological, sociological, political and literary studies from a liberating and anti-imperialist Latin American perspective.

(Trigo 1996: 100)

However, Trigo (2000: 85) considers the concept is now obsolete and advocates 'its replacement by other conceptual categories, such as *hybridity* or *heterogeneity*, purportedly more appropriate for the transnational moment'.

This transnational moment shows two solidly interlinked characteristics: the crisis of the nation-state (capital being the first to denationalize itself), and a technological revolution in mass media accompanying the hegemonic expansion of culture industries.

(Trigo 1996: 112)

Should we then analyse recent Anglo-Argentine literature as a third term that resolves the tension between two cultures or as a locus of hybridity, in Bhabha's terms (Cf. p.43)? Should we see it within a continuum which illustrates transculturation as 'a subaltern or marginal recycling/resistance of hegemonic culture' (Trigo 1996: 116), in Pratt's terms? In the light of the 'transnational', interconnected scenario of our times, what imagined communities (Anderson 1983; Livon-Grosman 2003) can we resort to in our construction of identity? Are the terms 'Anglo' and 'Argentine' too ambiguous to describe the multiple identities present in the texts? This research explores

how such reflections can lead to awareness of how discourse constructs identity.

## 2.4 Hypertext theory

*The beauty of hypertext isn't that it obliterates what Robert Coover (1992) has dubbed 'the line' but that it propels us from the straitened 'either/or' world that print has come to represent into a universe where the 'and/and/and' is always possible.*

Jane Yellowlees Douglas

In the 1960s, Theodore Nelson conceived of a huge electronic network to connect all the information in the world by means of cross-referenced documents (a 'docuverse'). He coined the word 'hypertext' to name a tool which would create a non-sequential linking of texts.

In the same decade, both literary theory and computer science were interested in the systematisation of textual forms that cited other texts – what Gérard Genette (1962:14) has referred to as 'palimpsests'. For Genette, a hypertext is any derived text that is related to an earlier text or hypotext, in a way different from that of a commentary (1997: 9).

The increasing access to personal computers, the development of interactive technology and the Internet have made Nelson's docuverse and his notion of hypertext a reality. In *Literary Machines* (1981), Nelson was then able to write:

By hypertext I mean non-sequential writing – text that branches and allows choices to the reader, best read at an interactive screen. As popularly conceived, this is a series of text chunks connected by links which offer the reader different pathways.

(Nelson, 1981: 2)

In 1992, George P. Landow, a pioneer in the use of hypertext in higher education, wrote a book whose title reveals the impact of hypertext within a cultural context informed by new technologies: *Hypertext: the Convergence of Contemporary Critical Theory and Technology*. In this book, computer hypertext is defined as

text composed of blocks of words (or images) linked electronically by multiple paths, chains or trails in an open-ended, perpetually unfinished textuality described by the terms link, node, network, web and path.

(Landow 1992: 3)

Delany and Landow (1991: 3) define hypertext as 'the use of the computers to transcend the linear, bounded and fixed qualities of the traditional written text', for, as Ilana Snyder (1998, 126) asserts, 'a hypertext is constructed partly by the writers who create the links and partly by the readers who decide which threads to follow'.

It is this capacity of hypertext to 'blur the boundaries between readers and writers' (Snyder, 1998, 127) that suggests it can have great potential as a tool that allows readers to express electronically the connections they make between different texts:

hypertext does not permit a tyrannical, univocal voice. Rather, the voice is always that distilled from the combined experience of the momentary focus, the lexia one presently reads, and the continually forming narrative of one's reading path.

(Landow, 1992)

Analysis of the 'reading path', of the rhetorical nature of links, can potentially unveil the nature of those links, the ideology behind them,

by making visible and explicit mental processes that have always been part of the total experience of reading. For the text as the reader **imagined** it—as opposed to the physical text objectified in the book—never had to be linear, bounded or fixed. A reader could jump to the last page to see how a story ended; could think of relevant passages in other works; could re-order texts by cutting

and pasting. Still, the stubborn materiality of the text constrained such operations.

(Delany and Landow 1991: 4)

Although such claims are the object of numerous research projects and publications which are outside the scope of the present study (Cf. Snyder 1998; Hawisher & Selfe 1999; Ferradas 2006 a), exploration of the electronic medium to express intertextual links, with a focus on the intercultural connections made by the reader, can contribute to throwing light on the data and signal the way for future research.

In fact, it is hard to discuss the observations that follow within the linear constraints of print. Works are in dialogue with one another, citing or arguing with their predecessors; they are also related to historical events which contextualise them. Recurrent motifs reappear, attitudes towards self and other can be compared and contrasted. Therefore, it can be more revealing to see this thesis as a hypertextual web than a linear presentation. However much cross-referencing can signal connections, form series and open different reading paths, the digital medium seems more appropriate to highlight the links between the different elements. The accompanying webpage is an attempt to present part of the thesis as a network and, above all, to offer opportunities for teachers and students to establish their own connections by using it as a constructive hypertext (Joyce 1995).

### **3. The Anglo-Argentine Community and their Writing**

#### **3.1 The complex cultural identity of Anglo-Argentine Writing**

What is meant by the label 'Anglo Argentine literature'? As discussed in the literature review (Cf. p. 25), there seems to be no ready-made answer to this question, and any criteria of inclusion and exclusion have socio-political and linguistic implications. As Graham-Yooll (1999: 205) observes,

The double-barrel adjective is a statement of dislocation, of expatriation, of unbelonging because those that the word describes have no single culture, they are part of at least two, may be more. [...] In Argentina, a country of immigrants, there is a sense of place, but millions of identities that lack definition.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 205)

It is precisely to contribute to the critical reflection on identity that this thesis proposes to revisit Anglo-Argentine texts in the light of an intercultural approach. Identity is understood here not as 'an accomplished fact' but as 'a "production", which is never complete, always in process, and always constituted within, not outside, representation.' (Hall 1990: 110)

For the purpose of this study, a definition of Anglo-Argentine writing is proposed on p. 32: 'a third place where cultures meet and where the word 'Anglo' refers to the English language, used as the medium of expression to write factual or fictional accounts on Argentina, irrespective of the national origin of the writer'. Within this broad corpus, the pages that follow will focus on literary rather than scientific or commercial writing (although it will often be difficult to draw the line).

However, the adjective 'Anglo-Argentine' is traditionally applied to the 'Anglo-Argentine community', their institutions and cultural products. This

chapter describes how the community came into being and identifies different stages in its development.

### **3.2 The birth of the Anglo-Argentine community**

#### **3.2.i First arrivals**

According to Guillermo Furlong (1954:5 in Hanon 2005:7), Magellan's expedition brought the first two British visitors to the River Plate, six arrived with Sebastian Cabot and three with Pedro de Mendoza, who founded Buenos Aires on February 2, 1536 but was forced to leave by the hostility of the original inhabitants of the River Plate. When Juan de Garay founded the city a second time on July 11, 1580, no British citizens arrived with him because Spanish legislation forbade the entry of foreigners to its colonies, but various pirates arrived in the XVIth century, including John Drake. In the XVIIth century only one English person was identified as a dweller in Buenos Aires: William Glanter, a businessman.

After the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht, Britain got permission from Spain on several occasions to load and unload goods in the colonies, especially as a result of the slave trade, which also brought smuggling with it. In spite of the fact that Spain only allowed residence to between 4 and 6 British subjects in each Spanish-American port, by 1734 there were about 60 British citizens in the city of Buenos Aires, who established good relationships with the Jesuits. Two of the medical doctors on slave ships joined the order, including Thomas Falkner (Cf. p. 83).

The British population grew with the crews of ships caught by pirates or arriving in Buenos Aires as the result of mutiny, sinking or failed conquest.

The census of 1804/1805 identified 30 British foreigners, most of them Protestant, and 10 Irish citizens considered separately. It is then that the British attacked Buenos Aires in search of new markets for the products that the Napoleonic wars did not allow them to sell in other parts of the world. 'Pitt's government had reasons to fear that the French would soon try to take over the River Plate region, so he took intelligence measures to be warned in time' (Pigna 2005: 171) but there were no official orders to invade.

The first English invasion, commanded by Sir Home Popham and General William Beresford, arrived in June 1806. Beresford governed Buenos Aires until August 12, 1806. While British rule lasted,

The English officers mingled with the leading Porteño families, stayed at their homes, and attended the increasing number of parties held in their honour. It was common to see the very conservative ladies... strolling arm in arm with the "heretics".

(Pigna 2005: 184)

But if many powerful local families were in favour of the free trade promised by British rule, those who profited from smuggling and the slave trade were not. Nor were those patriots dreaming of independence who knew that if England happened to abandon Buenos Aires the River Plate would again fall under the Spanish sword.

The 'Reconquest' soon took place: the British were defeated by the local troops commanded by Santiago de Liniers. The defeated soldiers were kept prisoner in the city, but when the danger of a second invasion was imminent they were transferred to the interior. The second invasion, led by General John Whitelocke, started at the end of June 1807, but the citizens were by now organized in militias and, helped by women and children throwing stones and

hot oil from the rooftops on the advancing British army, repelled the invasion on July 5 1807.

This could be considered the end of British colonial adventures in the River Plate, but when the news of the first invasion reached Britain, an expedition with commercial purposes was sent to the River Plate. When they found on arrival that the colony had been lost, they stayed about seven months in the Banda Oriental (Uruguay) and the goods they unloaded were slowly smuggled into Buenos Aires, creating a stronger need for free commerce, supported by the presence of British war ships in the River Plate and British commercial ventures in Rio de Janeiro.

What they did not achieve through occupation, they gained in failure, since during those two months they sold merchandise for more than 8,000,000 pesos worth for less than one third of their market value, so as not to carry it back to England. Buyers were mainly wealthy Spaniards and some natives of similar condition. All the deserters of the defence took money on an interest rate of over 15% in order to smuggle it into this market.

(Matheu in Pigna 2005: 205)

### **3.2.ii Early settlers**

After the failure of the second invasion, there remained in Buenos Aires and Montevideo some 2,000 British merchants. Those who tried to buy property or open businesses in Buenos Aires were persecuted by Viceroy Cisneros, but hours after the revolution of May 25, 1810, British officers disembarked from their waiting boats to salute the new government and, in return, they were promised the right to own property and do business. As a result, the British Commercial Rooms were founded together with the new nation and by 1815 they had an important public library.

The British community in Buenos Aires lived in the 'barrio de los ingleses' (the English quarter) and the label 'ingleses' was applied indiscriminately to any English-speaking foreigner, whatever their origin. However, many of them were in fact Irish. Many had arrived with Beresford and stayed in the provinces as prisoners. Several Irish soldiers were acculturated so quickly that they even lost their mother tongue.

The recognition of independence of the River Plate colonies on the part of the British Monarchy was a slow process, in spite of the pressure exerted by British merchants. It was not until 1824 that the first British Consul, Woodbine Parish, arrived in Buenos Aires. Parish (Cf. pp.123-126) was amazed to find a community of about 3,500 British citizens and informed his government that half the public debt of the region, and most of the valuable properties, were in British hands. The Anglo-Argentine treaty of 1825 then established legal and political equality between Britain and the new 'Provincias Unidas'. The new nation guaranteed religious freedom for British citizens and the British government supported the first and only wave of organised British migration to what would later become Argentina.

The British soon had their own parishes and cemeteries, their own newspaper (*The British Packet and Argentine News*) and founded the Buenos Ayres British School Society, in charge of the education of the children of British citizens and other foreigners. The prosperous community was made up of specialised workers (builders, carpenters, mechanics), but was renowned above all for its merchants and bankers, who were highly influential (Cortés Conde 2007: 43). As soon as they were able to, many of these first British

settlers bought land outside Buenos Aires. The land was fertile and cattle could be found everywhere, so property and profit were not hard to get, despite the threat posed by the Indians and the gauchos, who were used to roaming the land freely and resisted colonial invasion and the loss of their way of life.

Many of these settlers would become rich and influential landowners, members of the 'patrician' families as a result of the intermarriage with the elite circles of 'criollo' society

Woodbine Parish, the first British consul, commented in *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*, first published in 1829, that 'our countrymen have formed many matrimonial connections with the fair Buenos Ayreans, which have contributed no doubt to the kind feeling with which the English are so generally regarded by the natives'. Their offspring are the first Anglo-Argentines.

(Jakubs 2000: 136)

The 'English' who were so positively regarded were often Scottish or Irish, but British nationalities were often confused or used interchangeably and all fell under the label 'ingleses'.

These early settlers, as partners in the creation of the nation, were strongly attached to the land and, just as the families of Spanish origin, felt the right to be considered Argentine citizens, even though they kept their customs and their language. Many of them resented, just as the Spanish creoles, the new wave of immigration which reached the country between the end of the 19th century and the first half of the 20th.

(Cortés Conde 2007: 44, my translation)

In the 1820's, there were several unsuccessful attempts to create agricultural and mining colonies, so much so that Francis Bond Head (Cf. pp. 104-109) discouraged Britons from emigrating to the River Plate or investing in the area. Those who did stay in the region often had to go through disappointment and hardships, as was the case of the Scottish settlement. In 1822, Bernardino Rivadavia, then Minister of Government and Foreign Affairs, while on a

diplomatic mission to Europe, agreed on a plan for the establishment of a British agricultural colony. The following year, a document was issued stating that the immigrants would be lodged in a comfortable house upon arrival for a period of fifteen days, would remain free from all military and civil service and their right to freedom of worship would be respected.

On arriving in Buenos Aires, however, the first group of settlers found that no land had been set aside for their colony. After a long delay, they were allowed to go to the site originally promised in the province of Buenos Aires but, on reaching their destination, they were told that they could not take possession of the land. Abandoned without shelter or food, they returned to the city and joined the British community there (Stewart 2000: 7).

John and William Parish Robertson, two Scottish brothers with connections in the River Plate area, had also been offered land for a colony, but as they were not pleased with it, they bought three contiguous 'chacras' (farms) from the Scottish brothers John and George Gibson, who owned several estancias. The 16,000 acres were in what today are the modern districts of Lomas de Zamora and Esteban Echeverría in the province of Buenos Aires.

The colony was officially called Santa Catalina and the Parish Robertson' home is today the head office of the University of Lomas de Zamora. The settlers left Leith on board the *Symmetry* in May 1825. By 1826, the colony had developed enough to need a minister and a teacher. Father William Brown established a Presbyterian mission in Monte Grande and collaborated with the creation of the Scots School in Buenos Aires, which still exists.

The colonists' stories are told in a compilation of articles by James Dodds, originally published in the church magazine *Life and Work*. Copies of the book are collectors' items today, because many were destroyed quietly soon after publication. The reason given for the destruction of the book was that many descendants of colonists who had prospered in Argentina did not like the sight of their forbears being recorded as maids, servants and peasants who had arrived in the River Plate en 1825.

(Graham- Yool 1999: 149)

The colony prospered and in August 1828 *The British Packet and Argentine News* 'published a report on the progress of the colony's 326 Scots and 188 native-born inhabitants' (Graham-Yooll 1999: 149), but in December of that year there started a long civil war.

The governorship of Buenos Aires was the main political office until the creation of the national presidency in 1862. It was held by Unitarians until 1827, when the Federalist Dorrego became Governor. Civil war broke when Unitarian chiefs Lavalle and Paz rebelled and Lavalle had Dorrego executed. From then on, the lives of immigrants and natives alike would be endangered by constant civil conflict (Cf. pp. 151, 178/179).

At the root of nearly all such upheaval lay the disparity between the bourgeois ethos of the urban elite and the traditional lifestyle of the rural population and lower classes. The intelligentsia of Buenos Aires were ardent followers of the latest cultural and ideological imports from Europe, whereas expert horsemanship and the ability to dispatch an adversary, human or animal, with a swift flourish of the knife were attributes of greater prestige to the common creole. In the years following Argentina's first steps towards independence in 1810, the educated men of the city dominated the political sphere but were engaged in a constant struggle to defend their pre-eminence from attack by regional strongmen, the caudillos. These charismatic, populist leaders embodied the values of the ordinary citizen and despised the patronizing demeanour of the urban oligarchy, whose ideology, a blend of rationalism, economic liberalism, and social elitism, was an uneasy bedfellow of the conservative, Hispanic beliefs of the majority.

The conflict was not only one of culture and style: the opposing sectors also had very different plans for the shape of the nascent republic. The liberal thinkers of the city became known as Unitarians on account of their project to build a single national entity with its capital in Buenos Aires. They were opposed by the more conservative Federalists, who favoured a loose alliance of semi-autonomous provinces.

(Stewart 2000: 2)

At the end of 1829, a wealthy 'estanciero' (cattle rancher), Juan Manuel de Rosas, was made Governor with extraordinary powers required to 'restore

order'. He was supported by gaucho cavalry and by the violent gangs who came from the slaughter-houses south west of Buenos Aires, whose violent ways against Unitarians are described in melodramatic detail by the Argentine poet Esteban Echeverría in *El Matadero* (*The Slaughterhouse*, written 1839, published 1871). When the three-year term to which Rosas had been appointed came to an end, he was asked to stay in power with the Assembly assuming its full legislative functions, but he refused. He resigned in December 1832 and in 1833, the year in which Charles Darwin was in Buenos Aires from September to November, he set out on a campaign against the Indians in the province of Buenos Aires, who defended their ancestral right to roam freely around the pampas by slaughtering white men's cattle.

The campaign was a massacre of the tribesmen and of their old people, while the young women were auctioned off by the officers for the pleasure of the soldiers. The children were enslaved. The campaign ended when Rosas had rid the province of Indians as far south as the Colorado River, which encouraged white population to establish Southern towns. The general himself ordered the transportation of prostitutes from the streets of Buenos Aires to Tandil, so that they could make a contribution towards increasing the population.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 125-126)

Rosas returned to Buenos Aires in October 1833 and his supporters organised a revolt to reinstate him. Finally, the Assembly agreed to invest him with full powers again and he took office in 1835. As a result of those powers, Rosas governed for almost twenty years persecuting the opposition, who were forced into exile in Montevideo if they survived persecution. Opinions as to whether Rosas was the 'Restorer of the Law' or a dictator have divided Argentine politics and perceptions of national identity ever since.

Around 1835, Irish immigration to Argentina was significant and numbers increased sharply in the 1840's because of the famine in Ireland. Prominent early Irish settlers include Michael O'Gorman, who founded Buenos Aires' medical school in 1779, Admiral William Brown, one of Argentina's great naval officers and a national hero, and General O'Brien, who accompanied General José de San Martín in the campaigns which liberated Argentina, Chile and Peru. After 1843, another prominent figure, Father Anthony Fahy, encouraged immigration to Argentina during and after the famine.

Many were sheep farmers who settled in the province of Buenos Aires, many made impressive fortunes in land and livestock. By this time, too, the roots of the British commercial community had become well established, and this population grew prosperous during the anglophile Rosas regime.

(Jakubs 2000: 136)

Fahy found accommodation for the girls with 'good, religious Irish families' and then he played the self-imposed role of match-maker:

When the Irish lads came to town, from cattle-droving, agriculture or ditch digging – well paid while there were few fences – Fahy unlocked the girls. He organized dances at the homes of landladies or acceptable boarding houses and there decided the appropriate introductions and matches. In this activity Fahy had to work very hard and fast. He had to catch the men as they arrived in town at the end of each month, before they had a chance to spend all their wages on prostitutes and on getting drunk. The urgency of engagements was also determined by the men's need to get back to their jobs on the farms. The girls who could not be matched were found employment as maids or cooks or governesses.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 140)

Many Irish settlers lived in poverty in wattle and mud 'ranchos' which were sometimes attacked by Indians. After the inhabitants of the poor abodes had fled or been killed, the Indians would dig up the floor searching for the money and spirits which the Irish often buried for safety. But some became highly successful merchants and landowners, like Thomas Saint George Armstrong,

the largest single shareholder in the Buenos Aires bank. A powerful wool and hides broker, Michael Duggan, persuaded his Irish-Argentine customers to start a fund to open a newspaper for the community. *The Standard* was born as a result.

On analyzing the processes which 'created the new Irish-Argentine hybrid', Edmundo Murray (2003: 49) highlights the complex acculturation process through which the Irish found a position in Argentine society and developed an identity which cannot simply be labeled 'Anglo-Argentine':

Paradoxically, the Irish who emigrated to Argentina, a former Spanish colony, may be regarded (as they regarded themselves) as colonised in the country they left, and as colonisers of their new home. [...] Evolving from colonised to colonisers during their initial settlement, the Irish in Argentina swiftly became *ingleses*. In the following decades, in order to join the local bourgeoisie they were required to be *gauchos*, and to show signs of their effective integration to the native culture, as seen by the Argentine elites. This explains why most of the successful Irish settlers gradually separated from the Anglo-Argentine mainstream culture and shaped their own community. A negotiation of identities among *Irishness*, *Britishness*, and *Argentineness* was always in place.

Prosperity during Rosas's rule seems to have contributed to the construction of these identities.

### **3.2.iii Rosas and the Anglo-Argentine Community**

Rosas's anglophilia is a matter of controversy. He descended from a prestigious family of high colonial officials. His maternal grandfather was a wealthy rancher who had died defending his property from the Indians. When he was only eighteen, he became manager of his father's estancia and acquired the skills that would make him popular among the gauchos. With two of his friends, he founded one of the earliest 'saladeros' (beef-salting plants) in the country and became a highly successful businessman.

With a sound financial base, a private gaucho battalion, and the enthusiastic backing of fellow landowners and members of the impoverished underclass, both of whom coveted the bulwark he represented against the meddling of the urban bourgeoisie, Rosas was ideally placed to eclipse all rivals for years to come.

(Stewart 2000: 12)

Opposed to Rosas and forced into exile, Argentine intellectuals known as ‘the Generation of 1837’ advocated populating the country with ‘civilised’ races, which

... gave the British a unique status among immigrant groups. Their role in the financial and infrastructural expansion of the country was significant and highly visible; in the eyes of many residents of Buenos Aires, most of the transportation and business of the country may have seemed to be in British hands –and the profits in British pockets.

(Jakubs 2000: 137)

On the other hand, Rosas followed a vigorously nationalistic policy, reacting strongly to the British seizure of the Malvinas/Falkland islands in 1833. The British and French governments were not pleased with his leadership of the ‘Argentine Confederation’. Rosas’s economic policies of protecting the national industry with high tariffs, as well as his attempts to incorporate Paraguay and Uruguay to the confederacy, were against French and British economic interests in the region. This led to two naval blockades, the French one in 1838, and the Anglo-French in 1845.

It was thought that Rosas would take revenge on the English and French residents in Buenos Aires, but, instead, he gave strict orders that they should be respected. What is more, as the Anglo-French blockade interfered with business from Buenos Aires, Rosas supported foreign (particularly British) merchants by helping them store their goods and exempting them from the usual taxation. In fact, it was perceived that the ‘gringos’ (i.e. foreigners who were not Spanish, mainly British) were privileged under his rule, which Rosas

himself acknowledges in a conversation with William Mac Cann, a British merchant who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1842 and seems to have returned to Britain in 1845, probably to avoid the turmoil of the Anglo-French blockade. That year, he published a pamphlet (*The Present Position of Affairs in the River Plate*. Liverpool: Thomas Bain) in which he expressed his views against Anglo-French intervention and justified Rosas's dictatorship as the only way of keeping order in a region not yet ready for self government (Busaniche in Mac Cann 2001: 20). Back in Buenos Aires in 1847 with the intention to explore the country on horseback and report on the different regions, Mac Cann meets Rosas in person and gives his views on the experience in Chapter I, Volume II of his book *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback through the Argentine Provinces* (Cf. p. 139).

He... expatiated on the advantages which the country afforded for the emigration of the surplus population of Great Britain and spoke of the favourable situation in which immigrants were placed by the treaty of 1825: that, in fact, they enjoyed greater advantages than the natives.

(Mac Cann 1853: 7)

McCann joins the English-speaking community in the belief that Rosas does not in any way conspire against their interests and well-being.

Of all the foreign residents, support for the dictator was probably strongest among the English-speaking settlers, who shared his belief in civil discipline and were largely unimpressed by idealistic notions of liberty and social equality.

(Stewart 2000: 12)

The naturalist William Henry Hudson, the son of North-American settlers, gives evidence of this support in his memoir *Far Away and Long Ago* (Cf. pp. 176-179) and, according to Graham-Yooll (1999:141), in the 1850s and 1860s a Union Jack often flew above the poor ranchos of Irish farm hands and ditch diggers:

The habit had been introduced during the Rosas regime, because the dictator had once ordered his *gaucho* cavalry not to attack any place bearing that flag. There had been some confusion during the Anglo-French blockade; but the habit returned and was kept for many years after Rosas had been overthrown.

Enemy or ally, Rosas was a well-known figure in Britain, and the poet laureate John Masefield presents the governor as a mythical figure in the poem named after him (1918) (Cf. pp. 178 - 180).

### **3.3 New settlers and the thriving of the community**

In 1851, Justo José de Urquiza, the powerful governor of the province of Entre Ríos, gathered an army which defeated Rosas's army at Caseros in February 1852. Hours later, Rosas, protected by the British Consul, Robert Gore, boarded the British frigate *Centaur* on his way to exile in Britain, where he would die in 1877. A few days later, Urquiza's troops entered Buenos Aires, killing and looting. Several officers loyal to Rosas were executed and their corpses hanged from the trees of Palermo de San Benito, Rosas's residence.

The military victory allowed Urquiza to call a Convention which provided Argentina, in 1853, with a Federalist constitution. The Federalists ratified the constitution in 1854, establishing the Argentine Confederation with a capital in Paraná. Urquiza was elected president for a six-year term, but Buenos Aires repudiated the constitution and declared itself independent. As the Confederation was on the verge of economic ruin, Urquiza invaded Buenos Aires in 1859. He won a military victory but was forced to retreat in the face of fierce local resistance.

The issue was again resolved on the battlefield. In 1861, at Pavón, the provincial troops of Buenos Aires under Bartolomé Mitre defeated the national

army under Urquiza. In the following year, Mitre (a distinguished author and historian as well as soldier) was elected president. He moved the capital to Buenos Aires, where it has remained ever since -though its status as permanent capital was not formally accepted until 1880.

Argentina's political identity was being established and its economy was about to undergo a huge transformation. The indigenous population of the pampas was nearly exterminated in a series of 19th-century wars. In 1878-9 the remaining original inhabitants were either killed or driven south into Patagonia in a campaign commanded by Julio Argentino Roca, a general who was voted into the presidency of Argentina in 1880 as a result of this success, a military and political correlative of the success of the discourse of 'civilisation' over 'barbarism'.

His victory over the indigenous peoples was a significant step in the process of transforming the pampas into a safe place for cattle breeding, sheep runs and agriculture. This, added to the new barbed wire fences, marked the end of the wild herds and the horse-riding Gauchos whose lifestyle depended on them. The Gaucho was forced to become a soldier to fight the Indians or a 'peón' (farm hand) under a 'patrón' (a landowner, criollo or European).

Nostalgia for the old lifestyle of the Gaucho would become the identity mark of Argentine literature. The genre is known as 'la gauchesca' (the 'gauchesque' or gaucho genre):

The first border of the genre is popular lawlessness. On the one hand the so-called rural delinquency (the 'vagrant gaucho', unlanded and without fixed work or domicile; the well-known equation dispossessed = delinquent), and on the other, by correlation, the existence of a double system of justice that distinguishes city from country: the law of vagrants and its

corollary, the law of conscription, reign above all on the countryside. This duality is in turn linked to the existence of a central, written law that in the country is confronted by the oral, traditional code of custom: the juridical regulating of rules and prescriptions that form the basis of the rural community. The 'delinquency' of the gaucho is nothing more than the effect of difference between the two juridical regulating systems and between the differential applications of one of them, as it matches the necessity of use: of field hands for the ranchers and of soldiers for the army.

(Ludmer 2002: 5-6)

The emblematic work of the genre is José Hernández's epic poem in two parts: *El Gaucho Martín Fierro* (1872) and *La Vuelta de Martín Fierro* (*The Return of Martín Fierro*) (1879). Fierro, in defence of his ideals and lifestyle, refuses to be drafted and escapes to the 'tolderías' to live with the Indians as an outlaw at the end of the first poem. In the second poem, he returns to 'civilisation', is horrified at the cruelty of the Indians towards a captive and submits to authority, accepting the new lifestyle. From this brief summary it is possible to derive the impact of the text's ideological shift upon the Gauchos. When the second part of the poem was published, the first one already had 48,000 copies in print in Argentina and Uruguay. It was sold not only in bookstores but in *pulperías* (rural bars), where it was frequently read aloud as a public entertainment or sung by heart by 'payadores' (Gaucho bards who recited often improvised poems as they played the Spanish guitar).

The poem was consecrated as the national epic by renowned intellectuals such as Leopoldo Lugones and Ricardo Rojas in the early 20th century and was thus appropriated by 'high culture'. Later, Jorge Luis Borges (1994: 122) praised the *Martín Fierro* as a literary work but found it sad that his countrymen read 'with indulgence or admiration' Fierro's lawless behaviour, such as the racist episode in which Fierro provokes a duel with a black Gaucho and then kills

him in the ensuing knife fight. The first translation into English (1933) was written by Walter Owen (Cf. p. 243), a Scottish writer and translator who spent a good part of his life and died in Argentina and is considered one of the outstanding names in the Anglo-Argentine community.

Within this new context, the railway lines, laid and owned by British companies, connected remote regions and the Argentine government encouraged immigration from Europe. More than three million newcomers arrived from Europe between 1860 and 1940. The largest group of new arrivals were from Italy and Spain, with the Italians slightly the more numerous of the two, but there were also significant numbers of French, Germans, Poles, Turks and Russian Jews. Argentina already had a smaller indigenous population than other parts of Latin America. With this high rate of immigration, it became the most European republic in South America, but one in which power and wealth were in the hands of a few.

The fertile regions of the pampas were divided into vast *estancias* owned by no more than 300 families. Argentina's privileged few ensured that power remained within their own circle by means of an exclusive club, the Argentine Rural Society, founded in 1866. The presidency of Julio Roca in 1880 began three decades in which the office was held by a circle of friends and relations within the Rural Society. By the 1890s this situation led to the creation of two opposition groups: the Radical party in 1892 (campaigning on behalf of all shades of political opinion) and the left-wing Socialist party in 1895.

All through this period of economic development, the role of the British was significant. They arrived in Buenos Aires as representatives of London

companies – banks, steamboats and other transportation companies, railway projects, meat-packing and beef-salting companies. They were mostly employees tied economically to Britain. From 1869 to 1914 the number of Britons in Argentina almost tripled.

Those were the days when the Jockey Club, with a large British membership, was described as the wealthiest club in the world and the British-run Buenos Aires Rowing Club became the largest club of its kind in the world. All was superlatives as Argentina entered the twentieth century as a rich country, its wealth lying on the land and ready to be picked up and exported through British companies. Argentina's high society kept racing horses in Paris, houses in Switzerland, but they bought British engineering and banked in London –where the palatial Argentine Club was opened in March 1911. To speak English was not just a mark of education, it was a daily necessity. Britons shied away from anything more than dabbling in the Spanish language; to keep their shocking accent in the native Spanish tongue as a symbol of status, of power.

(Graham-Yool 1999: 233)

The arrival of 153 Welsh settlers on the Patagonian coast in July 1865 was the result of the government's intention to improve trade with the Tehuelches and other native Patagonians and confirm claims of sovereignty over a territory which was in dispute with Chile. For these purposes, the authorities were interested in attracting 'hard working' Northern Europeans and offered all kinds of benefits, such as fifty square miles of land for every two hundred families, free of taxes. The government aimed at encouraging emigration of three to five hundred families per year for ten years.

The settlers were looking for a place where they could preserve the Welsh language and traditions against English influence and colonial policy. They were influenced by the writings of Captain Fitz-Roy of the Beagle (Cf. pp. 126-130). In spite of the hardships involved in such venture, the colonists who arrived on the *Mimosa* settled in New Bay (today's Port Madryn) and

established friendly relationships with the Indians, most of them Tehuelches, but also Araucanos and Peuelches 'who soon began to adapt some words of the Welsh language ... to facilitate communication with the settlers. One such word was *bara*, and many in Chubut still remember Indians in winter begging for *poco bara* (a little bread)' (Graham-Yooll 1999: 162). The story of Elizabeth Adams (Cf. pp. 250-251), who started the peaceful relationship by putting her new-born baby in the arms of the wife of the Tehuelche chief, is one of the legends of the community.

In spite of the difficulties caused by the weather, which meant the failure of several crops, about 500 colonists joined the settlement from Wales and the United States in 1875 and 1876. The Argentine government declared the territory of the Chubut (Chupat) river, a valley spanning the country from the coast to the Andes, a province of the Republic in 1884. Most of the new authorities were Welsh. One of the largest cities of the province is today called Trelew (Lewis's town) in memory of Lewis Jones, who was in charge of the first colony. Port Madryn is named after Sir Thomas Duncombe Love Jones-Parry, first Baron of Madryn, who explored the area with Jones to assess the feasibility of a colony. The Welsh explored the territory and reached the Andean foothills in 1885, where they immediately started settlements. Another four hundred settlers arrived in 1886 and ten years later David Lloyd George spent several months on a visit to what he called 'the little Wales across the sea'. Today, Welsh is still spoken in Chubut and tourists enjoy traditional Welsh tea and pastry in the tea houses of Madryn and Gaiman. They still send a delegation each year to the Welsh Eisteddfod and hold their own 'Eistedvod' each October in Chubut (Graham-Yooll, 1999: 2)

The 1870s also saw a new wave of Irish immigrants, as emigration from Ireland was encouraged and financed from Buenos Aires, both privately and by public policy. *The Standard*, the community's weekly newspaper published by Michael George Mulhall, became a daily printed in English and French in 1861. That year Michael was joined by his sheep-farmer brother, Edward Thomas. Although many members of the community disliked the newspaper for 'being too favourable towards the English [...] the Mulhalls claimed that they were shipping abroad 20,000 copies of the *Weekly Standard*, published every Wednesday' (Graham-Yooll 1999: 142-143).

In 1875, the Irish community got a paper dedicated more fully to Irish affairs than *The Standard*, *The Southern Cross*, 'the Catholic newspaper in the English language', which is still published today, though in Spanish. It was preceded by *The Western Telegraph*, published for two years. Michael Mulhall published *The English in South America* in 1878 and the two brothers published *The Handbook of the River Plate*. This guide to the area in English and Spanish, commissioned by President Sarmiento and published annually between 1861 and 1885, spread their reputation all over South America. According to the chapter on the Buenos Aires province in *The Handbook*, in 1885 'the Irish and Scotch sheep-farmers hold twenty-two to twenty-four millions of sheep [...] The aggregate of pastoral wealth in the hands of Irish and Scotch (including as such the children born in the country) amounts to 162 million dollars' (qtd. in Graham-Yooll 1999: 144).

As can be seen in the stories of William Bulfin (Cf. pp. 181 - 187), most hands on an Irishman's farm were Irish, 'native' help only wanted at shearing time:

Although it is not written, it is still true, that over the richest sheep-runs in the province of Buenos Aires you may gallop during every

hour of the longest day in summer without crossing a single rood of land that is not owned by some son of the Emerald Isle or by his children. Full sixty years ago the first Irish sheep-farmers went forth from Buenos Aires city into the teeming wilds of the Pampa, and made their pioneer homes in the track of the frontier cavalry regiments that were fighting back the Indians. The success of these hardy settlers induced their kinsfolk to follow in their footsteps; and now, for leagues and leagues inland from the banks of El Rio de La Plata and the Parana, north and west of Buenos Aires, stretch the estates, or *estancias*, of men of Irish birth or parentage. On these estates or "camps," as they are called, not only are the proprietors and managers Irish, but the shepherds and estancia hands as well; not only are the comfortable and, in many cases, luxurious homes or estancia houses tenanted by Irish, but also every ranch or *puesto* that you can see with a telescope here and there over the level leagues of clover and thistle which extend on every side of you to the horizon.

(Bulfin 1907/ 1997: 135)

In the fertile 'seven parishes' of the province of Buenos Aires (around Salto) there were thousands of Irish who owned the large majority of cattle brands.

Their names, even the famous, are too numerous to list. They went into every branch of industry, the arts, science, commerce and politics. By the end of the century, they had their own élite, a landowning minority that had married into Patrician society, which had left behind the insularity of the early immigrants. For all of them 'home' was a place of the mind, a distant memory, which they had left never to go back.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 145)

By the 1880s, eighty per cent of the male population of Buenos Aires was foreign-born. The British share of immigrants to Argentina never surpassed four per cent of the annual total, yet, the cultural and economic influence of this small community has been significant:

Bartolomé Mitre, president of Argentina between 1862 and 1868, once said, at the time of the building of the first railways, that every stage of the development of Argentina as a nation had British witnesses and participants.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 1)

By the end of the century, eighty per cent of foreign investment in Argentina was of British origin, and this capital was often administered by the British

who lived in Buenos Aires, who had little incentive to learn Spanish. In the popular imaginary of Argentina, their 'Englishness' was (and still is) often associated to their being efficient, good at management and business. 'By the late 1870's there was a British middle class, comfortable, insular and looked up to by the *Criollo* population, which Britons looked down on' (Graham-Yooll 1999: 230).

'English' schools, clubs and churches helped isolate the 'Anglo-Argentines' from the rest of the population, particularly in Greater Buenos Aires neighbourhoods such as Hurlingham, Banfield, Temperley, Lomas de Zamora, Olivos, Martínez, where the old English schools can still be found, though they now cater for those that can afford their fees rather than for a specific national or linguistic community.

Schools, clubs, neighbourhoods, churches, endogamy and the decision to remain separate from the 'native' population (defined by the English as 'those of Latin stock') were the joint factors which reinforce isolationism and the preservation of the language. The image of the 'Anglos' was valued by features such as 'fair play', 'punctuality', 'team work' and 'honesty'; but the prototypical *Englishman* was also associated with 'arrogance', a certain contempt for 'natives' and a tendency to be in the territory without belonging to it.

(Cortés Conde 2007: 57, my translation)

Sports in Argentina also show the influence of the British community: football, hockey, rugby, tennis, rowing are all popular and several traditional sports clubs were founded by British immigrants. Rugby and hockey competitions between the teams of different bilingual schools are still an important part of student and graduate life. Education (and within it the prestige of attending an 'English' bilingual school where the English literary canon is read and GCSE exams are sat for) has reinforced the discourse of

European civilisation as opposed to South American primitivism and has done a lot to fuel the myth of the Anglo-Argentine community as cultural elite:

In most post-colonial nations... the nexus of power involving literature, the language and a dominant British culture has strongly resisted attempts to dismantle it. Even after such attempts began to succeed, the canonical nature and unquestioned status of the work of the English Literary tradition and the values they incorporated remained potent in the cultural and ideological institutions of education and literature.

(Ashcroft et al. 1989: 4)

### **3.4 The decline of the Anglo-Argentine community**

By 1912 political unrest was so strong that the ruling group reluctantly conceded electoral reform, which derived in secret ballot and universal male suffrage. As a result, the Radical party won the 1916 election and their leader, Hipólito Yrigoyen, was the new president. The Radical party won wide popular support by representing the interests of the new urban and industrial classes. This alarmed Argentina's traditional ruling class, whose fears were strongly shared in military circles.

In the meantime, the Great War was raging in Europe. The British Empire was at war and 4,852 resident Britons and Anglo-Argentines volunteered for service in Britain, out of a community of nearly 30,000. About a quarter of the men who left returned to Buenos Aires. The war damaged the outstanding position of the community, but Britain still held the status of most prominent investor in Argentina, and the Prince of Wales got a very warm welcome when he visited the country in 1924. But four years before his visit, the government had sent in troops to quell strikes against a British company in Santa Fe and several leaders had been killed. In 1922, sheep-farm workers in Patagonia were also repressed by the army when they 'struck for better pay against their

English and Scottish employers... Coronel Varela, the officer in charge, was cheered with a chorus of 'For he's a jolly good fellow...' at the English Club in Río Gallegos. He had ordered the summary execution of the strike leaders'. (Graham-Yooll 1999: 244)

The Radical period came to an end in 1930 as a result of a coup and for six decades the tension between popular demands and the military was a permanent presence in Argentine political life. In 1931, the Prince of Wales and Prince George visited the country to open the British Trade Fair:

The Great War had tarnished some of the glitter and there had been a decline on the figures due to European austerity; but Europe still had to eat and Argentina had the food. When the Princes visited Argentina in 1931, the country was seen as a rather special faraway colony, and the members of government behaved as colonial officials.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 150)

The 1930 coup started sixteen years in which the military either ruled directly or used force to manipulate the result of elections. Most of the military leaders admired the European dictators of the time and Argentina was the last Latin American country to declare war on Germany in World War II, doing so only in 1945 to secure a seat in the new United Nations. The Anglo-Argentine community sent 1,739 men and 541 women to Britain as volunteers. 197 men and 7 women died in action (Graham-Yooll 1999: 254).

For the last two years of the war the country was ruled by a new military 'junta' who had come to power in 1943, the GOU (*Grupo de Oficiales Unidos*, Group of United Officers). One member of the GOU, Juan Domingo Perón, was to change the course of Argentine political life dramatically. After the coup of 1943, Perón took the post of secretary of labour and social welfare,

which allowed him to cultivate the support of the popular classes by intervening on their behalf in strikes, pressing for improvements in wages, holidays, working conditions, health and pensions and building personal alliances with union leaders. In this way, he became the hero of the 'descamisados' (the 'shirtless'). By 1945 his roles within the junta included those of vice-president and minister of war.

A group of senior officers then decided to thwart Perón's personal ambitions. There was a new coup in October 1945 and Perón was imprisoned, but on October 17 a mass demonstration of workers on the streets of Buenos Aires led to his liberation. This unprecedented display of popular support was organised by Eva Duarte, an actress known as 'Evita'. A few days after Perón's release, he and Eva married. If the country had been divided between Unitarians and Federalists in the past, it would from then on be divided into Peronists and anti-Peronists.

Perón won the 1946 election with the support of the 'descamisados'. He made social welfare a high priority. The agency distributing benefits to the poor was administered by Eva, who, after her death from cancer in 1952 at the age of thirty-three, became a myth and rose to the status of a saint among the poor. He also invested state money in industrialisation and nationalised the banks and the railways, which was a blow for the Anglo-Argentine community, but one which Britain could not avoid:

The railways were run down, costly to repair and modernize and in a hostile political atmosphere, difficult to manage. Argentina's funds were blocked in London as a result of the war, which had left Britain with a debt of £125 million to Argentina.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 256)

Lots of people lost their jobs or were forced to take early retirement. Many Britons and Anglo-Argentines left the country.

Perón was re-elected president in 1951, but, without Eva at his side, he began to lose his populist touch. In 1954, measures to secularise the nation's institutions were accompanied by attacks on church property. In June 1955 the Pope excommunicated all government officials who took action against the church. The Anglo-Argentine community also suffered harassment. The Buenos Aires Cricket and Rugby club was burnt to the ground to force the club to move. These events, combined with a collapsing economy, provided the setting for another military coup. In September 1955 units of the armed forces began a 'liberating' campaign in the provinces and threatened to attack Buenos Aires if Perón stayed. The president slipped away and was exiled first in Paraguay and then in Spain, but there was bloodshed in the streets of Buenos Aires.

### **3.5 Before and after the Falklands/Malvinas war**

The sense of identity of the Anglo-Argentine community became more and more blurred in the second half of the twentieth century. In the prosperous days, the community had grown to 70,000 members, while the 1976 census registered 17,500 British individuals, a label which included both people born in the UK and two generations of their descendants born in Argentina. The community had shrunk either through exodus or intermarriage. 'Marriage outside the community existed from the beginnings of immigration, but now it is so generalised that the legitimacy of the group is questioned' (Cortés Conde 2007: 62, my translation).

The 1960's were marked by political unrest and coups, and difficulties in strengthening commercial relationships:

The Duke of Edinburgh's visit to Buenos Aires in February 1962 was a very quiet event, primarily aimed at an attempt to fly the British commercial flag. He played polo. Had an egg thrown at him outside the British Hospital and found himself falling between stools when an impertinently planned coup d'état removed his host, President Frondizi, from Government House. Prince Philip's visit in September-October 1966, when another general, Onganía, was in office, was more successful, if, again, quiet. He played polo with ... Onganía... and the British community delighted in the attention the Prince paid the community.

(Graham-Yool 1999: 261)

In the 1970's, Perón returned to the country and to the presidency, only to die 9 months later and be succeeded by his second wife, Isabel Martínez, while the economy collapsed and political violence raged. The community suffered abductions in the hands of guerrilla groups or right-wing fund raisers and a bomb at the British Embassy killed the policeman on duty.

The outcome, in 1976, was another military coup. A dictatorship led by General Jorge Rafael Videla followed. In the purges known as the 'disappearances' thousands of left-wing opponents were murdered (some of them by being thrown alive from aircraft into rivers or the sea). By the end of 1981 the leader was another general, Leopoldo Galtieri, who on April 2, 1982 sent a force of 5,000 Argentine troops to recover the Malvinas/Falkland Islands, occupied by the British in 1833. British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher mobilised a fleet to recover the islands. An exclusion zone of 200 miles was declared around the region. On May 3 the Argentine cruiser *General Belgrano* was torpedoed and sunk with heavy casualties (368 dead). This became the most controversial event of the war, because of allegations that the ship was outside the exclusion zone and was heading away from it. On June

14, it was announced that British troops were in Port Stanley and the Argentinians had surrendered. The casualties in the war number 655 Argentinians dead and 255 British.

The military regime, already unpopular, was totally discredited by the embarrassing defeat, a self-inflicted one in the sense that the junta initiated the action. Galtieri resigned three days after the surrender. In October 1983 elections were held. The presidential election was won by a civilian lawyer, Raúl Alfonsín, standing for the Radical party. Over the next three years several members of the junta and hundreds of their henchmen were tried. In 1985, Videla was sentenced to life imprisonment for human rights abuses (he was granted a pardon by President Menem in 1989 which was declared null in April 2010). Galtieri was acquitted in that trial but was convicted in 1986 of incompetence during the Malvinas/Falklands campaign.

Economic troubles soon disenchanted the public with President Alfonsín. In the 1989 election the Peronist candidate, Carlos Menem, won the presidential election by a wide margin. Since then, Argentina has enjoyed democratic government and suffered periods economic upheaval, like the major crisis of December 2001, in which riots broke out when the banks confiscated people's savings.

The Malvinas/Falklands war highlighted what Florencia Cortés-Conde (2007: 138) calls the 'Anglo-Argentine dilemma', echoing the title of Ronald Hansen's editorial in the *Buenos Aires Herald* following the sinking of the *Belgrano*:

If the conflict was hard for those who were British but had lived most of their lives in Argentina, it was not less so for those who had been

brought up to believe that Britain was an empire built upon notions such as fair play, gentlemanly behaviour, team effort and 'honesty is the best policy'. These were notions taught in public schools all over the empire and were transmitted by the parish schools established in Argentina, as well as by the families of British stock. But during the conflict on the South Atlantic the British image, that which had been built in the minds of the Anglo-Argentines and which had come to form part of their worldview, was shaken by a new experience. One thing was being loyal to a country built upon an image, and a very different one was to be loyal to one that could attack you because it saw you as 'foreign'. The image of Great Britain was brought 'home' for the first time and this is what the Anglo-Argentine dilemma consist of.

'Home' had always been the British Empire, an empire which did not exist any longer except in the minds of a community which had always seen itself as colonisers within and informal colony. This 'Britain of the mind' was shattered by the country that sank the *Belgrano*. In his editorial of May 11, 1982, Hansen speaks of a community divided around a generation gap by the war:

Most Anglo-Argentines have by now, I think, definitely accepted the Argentine stance. In this they are only exerting their birthright, however unpalatable this fact may be to some of their elders [...] I think it is up to them to make up their mind whether they wish to come to realistic terms with their own identity or to continue living in a ghetto of their own creation.

(qtd. in Cortés-Conde 2007: 141-142)

But though the conflict made it evident that a double loyalty is unsustainable, it did not necessarily change the cultural content of this identity (Cortés-Conde 2007: 152).

The Anglo-Argentine community has a rich history in colonization, pioneering, adventure, but is short in belonging, however many generations have spent in the country. In a way, this emphasized the distress felt when Britain and Argentina went to war over the Falkland Islands (*sic*) in 1982, and such relief when the two countries announced negotiations and restored diplomatic relations in August 1989.

(Graham-Yooll 1999: 205)

Though a minority, the Anglo-Argentine community was never a subordinate group forced to isolation or assimilation (Cortés Conde 2007:40) and they continue to perceive themselves and be perceived as socially advantaged:

This community has been generally viewed as homogeneous in economic class and occupational status, and as residentially isolated from the rest of the population, tending to live in British enclaves within the city. The persistence of the myth is surprising, since even a cursory reading of the rich descriptive literature that has survived suffices to show that there was no consensus about the community, even during the nineteenth century, among people who belonged to it, or among travelers to Argentina. The myth has persisted in part because the economic role of the British was indeed significant, and while the focus has been on Argentina as Britain's 'informal empire', scant attention has been paid to the community's social history.

(Jakubs 2000: 137)

After several generations and a war, the tendency has not been completely reverted, but Florencia Cortés-Conde's research shows that English now has an instrumental value within the community, and is not necessarily preserved in terms of cultural identity. The younger generation still proclaims its 'advantageous' ancestry, but the language they choose is Spanish or Standard English (often code-switching), and not the dialect, perceived by other speakers of English as archaic, which would identify them as Anglo-Argentine.

#### **4. An Overview of Early Anglo-Argentine literature**

This chapter discusses the text published by the Jesuit priest Thomas Falkner during the colonial period and presents an overview of works published by travellers who witnessed the English invasions of 1806 and 1807, the 1810 revolution, the war of independence and the Rosas regime. It also discusses the work of the Scottish settlers who were part of the first British colony in Argentina (Cf. pp. 59-60).

The travel writing series is described in generic terms and then all works are analysed individually to trace the discursive construction of self and other in the earliest works of the corpus. General conclusions on the series are drawn. Although largely based on the research by Adolfo Prieto (2003), the analysis differs from it in its thematic focus and adds several titles to the list, selected and described on the basis of the central theme.

Finally, the texts by Scottish settlers are presented and one of the texts is taken as 'focus text' and discussed in greater detail. Written in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Jane Robson's memoir covers over 80 years of history, offering a retrospective of the whole period under discussion and a personal narrative where, potentially, the analysis may unveil instances of transculturation.

#### **4.1 Travel writing in the colonial period**

##### **4.1.i A pioneering missionary**

FALKNER, Thomas (1774). *A Description of Patagonia and the Adjoining Parts of South America, with a Grammar and a Short vocabulary, and Some Particulars Relating to Falkland's Islands.*

Thomas Falkner was born in Manchester in October 1702. He had trained as a physician and crossed the Atlantic as a doctor on a slave ship, but fell seriously ill after his arrival. As a Briton, he was considered 'heathen' and doctors

would not assist him (Graham-Yooll 1999: 15). He was eventually helped by a priest and, during his convalescence, he was converted. He entered the Jesuits' company in Córdoba in 1732 and several other Britons did so after him.

He 'won widespread recognition' (Graham-Yooll 1999: 15) as a missionary and a doctor, but when Charles III of Spain expelled all Jesuits from the Empire in 1771, Falkner was forced to return to England. Three years later he published his book in London. The book as published was not his original work, but a compilation by William Combe, who edited and rearranged Falkner's papers. It is a highly fragmentary work, with a preface by Robert Berkeley, advisor to the Queen, and a map that Berkeley commissioned from a cartographer, Kitchin, on the basis of Falkner's description.

As there exists no original manuscript, it is practically impossible to establish the corrections and re-writings that the editor may have imposed on Falkner's text. In spite of this, it is possible to identify moments in which Falkner's meticulous descriptions and enumerations are interrupted and abruptly adopt the expansionist tone of Berkeley's preface.

Livon-Grosman (2003: 62-63 , my translation)

The very first sentence in Berkeley's preface reveals this 'expansionist tone':

The establishment of an English colony in Falkland's islands is said to be in consequence of an opinion of the late Lord Anson, who thought that a settlement, and the securing of a good harbour for English ships in the Southern seas of America, was a proper measure for extending the commerce and marine empire of Great Britain. (1)

Falkner travelled widely in northern Argentina and the Pampas and also lived thirty seven years in Patagonia. His book is the first geographical account of the area, clearly meant to encourage Britain to take an interest in the region, although not necessarily encouraging the settlement on the Malvinas/Falkland islands mentioned in the preface.

A settlement at the mouth of this river [the River of Sauces] would be much more convenient for ships going to the South Seas than that of Buenos Aires [...]

If any nation should think proper to people this country, it might be the cause of perpetual alarm to the Spaniards; as from hence ships might be sent into the South Seas and their sea ports destroyed, before such a scheme or intention could be known in Spain, or even in Buenos Aires. [...]

A settlement is much more practicable here, than in the Malouin [Malvinas] Islands, or the Ports of Desire and San Julian; here being plenty of wood and water, and a good country, fit for tillage, and able to maintain it's (*sic*) inhabitants. [...] It is a consideration of some weight, that the settlers might be provided with cattle, as cows, horses, &c. on the spot, at a very trifling expense. A commerce might also be established with the Indians; who for sky-coloured glass beads, cascabels or cast brass, broad swords, heads of lances, and hatchets, would exchange cattle for the use of the colony, and fine furs to send to Europe. (85-86)

Falkner's (Berkeley's?) evaluation not only reinforces the European presupposition that Indian territory is available for colonisation and that cattle can simply be appropriated or bought for trinkets (a behaviour that the literature will later criticise if done by the nomadic native population, Cf. pp. 141, 203), but even encourages British readers to defy Spanish sovereignty over Spanish American territory. His report on the Malvinas/Falkland islands, appropriated by the British in 1833 and still under colonial rule today, is based on the accounts which he heard 'from many of the Spanish officers, who went to receive this country from the French, and to transport the Spaniards thither from Buenos Ayres' (93), which confirms Spanish settlement in the area before the British invasion.

Falkner's text is considered foundational and highly influential in the construction of the imaginary<sup>3</sup> of Patagonia, even though he scarcely uses the

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<sup>3</sup> The imaginary is understood as the body of symbolic landmarks through which any community or landscape inserts itself in time and space. The imaginary is seen as the result of

term 'Patagonia' and devotes little space to the region, despite the title of his book. The only antecedent is *Primer Viaje en Torno del Globo*, by Antonio Pigafetta, who arrived with Magellan's expedition. Pigafetta's text was instrumental in creating the myth of Patagonia as a vast unexplored territory inhabited by giants (the 'patagones') who adored the devil, led by their vociferous chief, Setebos<sup>4</sup>. But Pigafetta only explored the coast and Falkner not only writes about the landscape in the interior but comes into direct contact with the indigenous population as a missionary. Livon-Grosman (2003: 63) highlights the 'ventriloquist nature' of Falkner's text: the other speaks through him, and the voice that the Indian nations find in his narrative, as well as through their presence in the map, will be replaced by silence in later Anglo-Argentine literature.

His systematisation of the grammar and vocabulary of the Moluche language is also a great contribution to research in the languages of the native population and his detailed descriptions of Indian customs are often dotted with considerations on gender roles which, as Lagmanovich (2005) claims, can be considered quite modern:

The widow, or widows, of the dead, are obliged to mourn and fast for a whole year after the death of their husband. This consists in keeping themselves close shut up in their tents, without having communication with anyone, or stirring out, but for the common necessaries of life; in not washing their faces or hands, but being blackened with soot, and having their garments of a mournful appearance... During the year of mourning they are forbidden to marry, and if, within this time, a widow is discovered to have had

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discursive practices or strategies involved in the construction of a system of thought, usually involving both reason and myth.

<sup>4</sup> Shakespeare, who must have read Richard Eden's abridged version of Pigafetta's account in *The History of Travayle* (1577), includes two references to Setebos in *The Tempest*: Caliban refers to Setebos as 'my dam's god' and invokes him when disappointed in his new 'masters', Trinculo and Stephano.

any communication with a man, the relations of her dead husband will kill them both; unless it appears that she has been violated. **But I did not discover that the men were obliged to any such kind of mourning on the death of their wives.** (119, my emphasis)

The husband protects his wife from all injuries [...] he seldom beats her; and if he catches her in any criminal commerce, lays all the blame on the gallant; whom he corrects with great severity, unless he atones for the injury by some valuable present. They have so little decency in this respect, that oftentimes, at the command of the wizards, they superstitiously send their wives to the woods, to prostitute themselves to the first person they meet. Yet there are some women whose modesty gets the better of their obedience, and who refuse to fulfill the desires both of their husbands and the wizards. (127)

Falkner is also the first one to record and publish accounts of the fossils of pre-historic animals which later give rise to Darwin's studies (Graham-Yooll 1999: 16). He can be considered an example of what Mary Louise Pratt calls 'the seeing man': 'the European male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess' (1992: 7). With 'taxonomic vision' Falkner classifies as a botanist or zoologist would the specific features of 'each species, place, or, as far as he was able to observe them, each Indian custom'. Classifying leads to naming, and 'naming is a way of taking possession of the thing described' (Lagmanovich, 2005, my translation). But in spite of this scientific appropriation of the region, as a physician Falkner cannot but admire the 'medicinal drugs' and 'remarkable cures' (41- 43) he learns about while in contact with the Indians.

The unique character of Falkner's book allowed it, in spite of its limitations, to become an unavoidable reference for almost one century, until the publication of George Muster's *At Home with the Patagonians* (Cf. pp. 197-199). 'For Falkner's contemporaries, the interior of Patagonia started in the Saladillo river, for us, it does in Falkner's *Description*' (Livon- Grosman 2003: 55).

#### **4.1.ii Another earlier chronicler**

Davie's is the only text in the series which could be labelled with Falkner's as 'colonial' in that it is previous to the 1810 May Revolution.

DAVIE, John Contanse (1805). *Letters from Paraguay: Describing the Settlements of Monte Video and Buenos Ayres*

Forced to stay in Montevideo by a storm that damaged the ship he was travelling on, Davie was unable to continue his journey due to a serious illness. He remained in the River Plate to recover and sent his observations to a friend in London. Davie only provides a brief description of the Capital city, as he finds it 'miserable and filthy' and 'besides the people, there is nothing in it worth describing' (113).

### **4.2 Post-colonial visitors, colonial eyes**

#### **4.2.i Travellers**

After the May 1810 revolution, the River Plate opened up to commerce with nations other than Spain and several English-speaking travellers visited the region attracted by the possibility of quick economic prosperity and the exploration of land still unseen by white men. Some of them went back to Europe and wrote their travel books to cater for a public avid of news from the

New Continent. Their works are the ones that Prieto analyses as antecedents of Argentine canonical literature (Cf. p. 27), but many others can be added to the list, even leaving out those which are strictly informative.

According to Mary Louise Pratt (1992: 111-143), Alexander Von Humboldt's 30-volume account of his exploration of South America in the company of André Bonpland contributed to establishing the parameters of the ideological reinvention of the continent which took place on both sides of the Atlantic in the early 19th century. In particular, Pratt highlights the influence of *Views of Nature* (1808, revised and expanded in 1826 and 1849), *Views of the Cordilleras and Monuments of the Indigenous Peoples of America* (1810) and *Personal Narrative of Travels to the Equinoctial Regions of the New Continent*, whose first volume appeared in 1814 and was published in London in 1818. There are frequent references to these texts in the writing of the British travellers to the River Plate during the silver and gold mining rush of the 1820's, though Humboldt did not visit the Southern regions of the continent. Darwin (1835) refers to Humboldt's work several times in *The Voyage of the Beagle* and ends the volume acknowledging the way his work has built notions of European superiority to America in all respects except the lavishness of the latter's tropical landscapes:

When I say that the scenery of parts of Europe is probably superior to anything which we beheld, I except, as a class by itself, that of the intertropical zones. The two classes cannot be compared together; but I have already often enlarged on the grandeur of those regions. As the force of impressions generally depends on preconceived ideas, I may add, that mine were taken from the vivid descriptions in the *Personal Narrative* of Humboldt, which far exceed in merit anything else I have read.

(Darwin 2001: 449)

According to Prieto, who agrees with Pratt on the emblematic nature of Humboldt's writing (2003: 20-25), the text must have impressed readers at the time it was published

as a powerful textual montage in which scientific notes, aesthetic effusion, humanistic preoccupation could be alternatively coupled with or separated from the narrator's voice and his captivating account of personal revelations and accidents.

(2003: 18, my translation)

Humboldt's text blends Rationalist and Romantic discourse, the useful and the sublime (Prieto 2003: 16-17). Falkner's taxonomic report is replaced by a narrative from a personal gaze whose recurrent perception of the American landscape is that of excess:

Alexander Von Humboldt reinvented South America first and foremost as nature. [...] a dramatic, extraordinary nature, a spectacle capable of overwhelming human knowledge and understanding. Not a nature that sits waiting to be known and possessed, but a nature in motion, powered by life forces many of which are invisible to the human eye; a nature that dwarfs humans, commands their being, arouses their passions, defies their powers of perception.

(Pratt 1992: 120)

His narrative establishes metaphors and stereotypes that other travellers in the series will cite, echo, imitate or reject, as is the case with the comparison between the pampas and the ocean, a way of making the unfamiliar understandable to a European readership:

The plains surrounding us seemed to reach the sky and looked to us like an ocean covered with seaweed. Sky and land merged. [...] It is hard to get accustomed to the views on the Venezuelan and Casanare plains, or to the pampas of Buenos Aires and the *chaco* when, for twenty to thirty days without stopping, you feel you are on the surface of an ocean. The plains of eastern and northern Europe can give only a pallid image of the immense South American llanos.

(Humboldt 1995: 162)

But this personal perception, marked by the rise of the Romantic sensibility in Europe, is also a discursive construction which legitimates Eurocentric expansionism:

Nineteenth century Europeans *reinvented* America as Nature in part because that is how sixteenth- and seventeenth- century Europeans had invented America in the first place, and for many of the same reasons.

[...]

The state of primal nature is brought into being as a state in relation to the prospect of transformative intervention from Europe.

(Pratt 1992: 126 - 127)

Humboldt's followers will reinvent the region for both European readers and creoles interested in establishing white supremacy within the new independent nations. These travellers, as can be seen in the bibliography discussed below, are what Pratt (1992: 146) calls the 'capitalist vanguard', pioneers and adventurers who will open the way for safe European (particularly British) investment in the area in the 1820s boom. Some of them, like Francis Bond Head and Joseph Andrews, will visit Argentina to investigate why British mining in the area is collapsing. But, whether hopeful or disappointed, idealistic or pragmatic, these accounts will construct the imaginary of the region, which will scaffold both the large European investments and the urban creole supremacy of the second half of the 19th century.

Far from mystifying European expansionist designs in their writings, the capitalist vanguard tended to thematise them – indeed, consecrate them. [...] John Mawe declared himself flatly incapable of describing the 'wild and romantic' landscape of La Plata, and satisfied himself by exclaiming simply: 'What a scene for an enterprising agriculturalist! At present all is neglected'. [...] Neglect became the touchstone of a negative esthetic that legitimated European interventionism.

(Pratt 1992: 149)

#### **4.2.i.a A Travel Writing Corpus**

MAWE, John (1812). *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, particularly in the Gold and Diamond Districts of that Country, by Authority of the Prince Regent of Portugal, Including a Voyage to the Rio de La Plata, and An Historical Sketch of the Revolution of Buenos Ayres*

An English mineralogist, John Mawe started on a 'voyage of commercial experiment' to the River Plate in August 1804, funded by Portugal's Prince Regent. His mission was to assess the value of the gold and diamond industries in Brazil. He sailed from Cádiz in March 1805, shortly after war broke out between Spain and England, and on reaching Montevideo, Uruguay, was imprisoned as an English spy. He procured his liberty soon after, but was interned and did not obtain his release until William Beresford captured Montevideo in 1806.

He accompanied the invasion of Buenos Aires by the troops of John Whitelocke in 1807 and on his return to Montevideo purchased a boat and sailed to Brazil, stopping at various ports on the way, including the island of Santa Catarina. In Brazil, the Prince Regent gave him permission to visit the diamond mines of Minas Geraes and other parts of the interior during 1809–10.

Though perhaps the earliest example of what Prieto (2003) calls the 'utilitarian trip', Mawe does intersperse his report with personal perceptions, and on arriving in Brazil is relieved to have left behind the pampas: 'This sublime scenery interested us the more from the contrast it formed with the extensive woodless plains of Buenos Ayres' (9). Rather than an impressive extension compared to an ocean, as Humboldt saw them, the pampas are described though 'lack' (*woodless*), as a boring disappointment, a motif that will be repeated by other authors.

Although most of the book deals with his visit to Brazil, Mawe's account of the English Invasions and the May Revolution is among the first documents of the period from a visitor's perspective.

GILLESPIE, A. (1818). *Gleanings and Remarks: Collected During Many Months of Residence at Buenos Ayres, and Within the Upper Country...*

Major Alexander Gillespie's account is the report of a British Navy officer, with instructions on how to navigate the River Plate, including navigation charts, a 'tedious... deviation from the thread of detail' justified by the 'rising importance of the river of Plata to the whole commercial world' (39). It is of historical interest as an insider's view of British military intervention in the region, as in the case of the hospitality the defeated officers enjoyed in Buenos Aires (277), but the text is mostly a factual report with subdued instances of personal narrative.

MIERS, John (1826). *Travels in Chile and La Plata*

This text can be considered another example of the 'utilitarian trip'. Also an expert in mines, Miers visited Argentina in 1819 in search of resources to exploit. His final destination was Chile, which meant crossing the extensive plains that separate the port in Buenos Aires from the Andes.

Miers rarely records anything except the chronological account of the trip. No anecdotes spice up the report: whatever is written is meant to be useful to a future visitor. If Humboldt compared the pampas to the ocean, here the narrator's eyes perceive the landscape without any aesthetic idealisation: 'The country was smooth, covered with fine short grass, and had the appearance of an interminable bowling green' (13).

As in Mawe, the great plains are described in terms of lack rather than excess:

One of [our English friends] was an old traveller between Buenos Ayres and Chile: and he, although travelling on horseback, had resolved not to get into the high road, where he was satisfied horses **could not be obtained**. The road which I proposed to follow through Zanjón, a miserable place, was seventy leagues in length, the whole being one **uninterrupted swampy pampa**, with **not a single intervening hut**: he had himself once accomplished this stage by the most extraordinary exertions, but he said he would never attempt it again, and that it would be quite impossible for me to travel it with the coach.

(50, my emphasis)

It is not until he reaches Córdoba that Miers uses the term ‘romantic’ (in the sense of ‘picturesque’ or ‘exotic’) to refer to the hilly landscape of the area, perhaps because it is comparable to the Alps – or even to the English Lake District, which the Lakists turned into an emblem of natural romantic beauty. This, according to Prieto (2003: 30, my translation) indicates ‘a code of appreciation of landscape which still refuses to incorporate the American image of excess’. Similarly, Miers describes the Indians as predators and finds a parameter of comparison which will make their lifestyle understandable to a European: gypsies.

The Indians of the Pampas formerly subsisted entirely on the produce of the chase, and had no notion of tillage or culture. Of late years, their successful ravages upon the eastern provinces have supplied them with immense herds of horned cattle and horses; in consequence they are now comparatively at ease, not having to depend wholly for subsistence upon baguales, or wild horses, nor upon ostriches, deer, foxes, &c. &c, the capture of which was always attended with uncertainty and difficulty. Their settlements have therefore become more stationary than usual, although from their habits they still continue to rove in search of plunder. They never remain long on one spot, although whenever they do settle they prefer the places where other bands have previously fixed their fleeting abodes. Hence, upon the borders of rivers more especially, there exists at intervals of twenty or thirty leagues, a succession of these *tolderías*, or Indian encampments. Their habitations consist merely of loose hides, fixed to three stakes, placed triangularly, much after the fashion of our gypsy tents at home. (110–111)

While Falkner observed Indian customs and described their social organisation and religious faith, Mier's gaze is that of the civilised European discovering a primitive, savage race which needs to be subdued if the area is to be commercially exploited:

These Indians are still in an early stage of a savage life, subsisting upon raw animal flesh, the preference being given to that of mares above other animals; the blood is also highly esteemed. They lead the roving lives of hunters wandering as necessity requires in search of food, having no fixed habitations, but merely temporary huts to protect them from the inclemency of the weather. [...] They never cultivate the ground, neither do they apply themselves to any labour. They are very fond of getting intoxicated whenever they can obtain spirits, which they eagerly seek after, and purchase with ponchos and bridle-reins, which are prepared by the women. Polygamy is frequent among them, and a man may have as many wives as his activity will enable him to support; neither men nor women have much regard for their offspring. They have some crude notions of religion, but they have no worship: according to the accounts of the Jesuit Falkner their superstitions are very similar to those of the Indians of Chile; they believe in the existence of good and evil spirits, and practise incantations to appease the fury of the latter. [...] Such a race cannot be otherwise than boisterous, cruel, and ferocious: as they have no laws, their disputes are always settled by single combat, in which the knife is dexterously used in the right hand, while the left arm, enwrapped in a poncho, serves as a shield to ward off the blows of their adversary; one or the other generally falls a sacrifice in these combats. The women are the labourers of the community; they are far more active and less indolent than the men, and perform acts of drudgery which would be thought by them too irksome. (257-259)

This use of the knife will become stereotypical in the description not of Indians but of the Gaucho, whom Miers describes as an 'excellent horseman' (13), used to gambling and heavy drinking (81), ignorant (85) and lazy:

I could discover no regular employment that any of the people here followed; true it is this was Sunday; but from all I could see, and all I could learn, there was no sort of regular employment; I could not make out from them how they contrived to live. (44)

Gaucho Women are depicted as filthy and just as indolent as men:

During by far the greatest part of the day the women were basking in the sun, and conferring on each other the mutual favour (for it is

their great delight) of picking the vermin from their hair. They were shamefully dirty. Their dress (and the dress of all the women in the country is much the same) consisted of a dark blue coarse baize petticoat of native manufacture, and a sort of shift made of white cotton, which is seldom or never off their backs (44).

In short, the civilisation-barbarism binary is equivalent to the European vs. Indian/Gaicho opposition in Miers' discourse.

CALDCLEUGH, Alexander (1825). *Travels in South America, during the Years 1819–1820–1821*

It is uncertain whether Alexander Caldcleugh visited Brazil, Argentina and Chile sponsored by the British Government or by individuals interested in private investment in the area. His text, published in London in 1825, presents these countries as potential markets and investment targets. But although the text can be labelled as one more example of the 'utilitarian trip', several passages express the narrator's own subjective experience, that of a man who tries to describe his impressions of the landscape.

Again, the pampas, as opposed to the 'sublime' Andes, strike him as a landscape which can be defined through lack:

The journey is **un**interesting, being over a **continued** plain with **little** wood or water with **no** boundary but the horizon.  
(240, my emphasis)

and, just like Miers, Caldcleugh is touched by the hilly landscape of Córdoba (Cordova in his spelling):

The scenery was of the most beautiful description: the mountainous aspect of the country after the dull monotony of ten days on the plains, had an indescribable charm. (269)

Although in his narrative he establishes relationships with the native population, Gauchos and Indians are described in terms of their relationship to creole politics rather than by focusing on their own culture:

The journey across the plains to Mendoza was, until of late years, attended with little risk. But the unsettled state of the country giving fresh energy to the native tribes, who were **previously in tolerable subjection** to the Spaniards, has been the chief cause of these **hordes** advancing to the north, and interrupting the communication with the western coast. **Formerly** the track across the country was habited by **reputable persons**, who furnished horses to passengers, and in some spots small forts were erected to restrain the attacks of the Indians, but at present the post-house is nothing but a wretched mud hut, and the owner in most cases is in an abject state of poverty.  
(239–240, my emphasis)

It can be derived from the contrast marked by the adverbs ‘previously’ and ‘formerly’ that neither the Indians nor the poor owner of the post-house (a Gaucho?) are ‘respectable people’ and that if the Indians (‘these hordes’) are not brought back to ‘tolerable subjection’ as in colonial days, businesses like the ones he is doing research for will not be possible. In this report, as in Miers’, the binary civilisation–barbarism subtly underscores the description of the landscape and adds to the sense of risky adventure.

SCHMIDTMEYER, Peter (1824). *Travels into Chile over the Andes, in the Years 1820 and 1821*.

Although it was his purpose to provide the complement to Humboldt’s text, from which he often quotes, by describing the Southern region of the South American continent as he travelled across Buenos Aires toward Chile in 1820–1821, Schmidtmeier’s account is a highly rationalistic description and a historical summary which does not become what could be considered a ‘personal narrative’. Incapable of appreciating the landscape in its own terms, Schmidtmeier reacts to the defamiliarising experience by rejecting the new, longing for European dimensions and features and expressing disappointment when comparing what he sees to his expectations.

His gaze finds nothing extraordinary in the flatness or extension of the

pampas:

The immense plains of South America have lately been described as presenting this characteristic feature, that they are to common sight without inequalities, and perfectly level in every part; but this description cannot apply to what I have seen of the most extensive of all, the pampas, which, from Buenos-ayres (*sic*) to Mendoza, are a continuation of undulations very strongly delineated (31).

He is also disappointed by the Andes:

The traveller, led to expect waterfalls of some thousand feet, finds none; not even a cascade: he misses the dark green pine, gently agitated as the atmosphere heaves its breath, shaking off from its branches flakes of frozen snow, and he looks for it in vain. Seas of blue ice, of various fantastic forms, do not come down vallies (*sic*) and glens to meet him, and to pour their hidden waters out of clefts and caverns before him. **With such features, the enormous masses here might claim some resemblance to the Alps, and then feel proud of their gigantic size.** Even the rocks themselves will not assume threatening attitudes, and their bodies lie one over the other, in dull, smooth, and, I might almost say, sleepy postures, partly covered with their crumbling fragments.

(217, my emphasis)

Perhaps based on Humboldt, Schmidtmeier expects even more 'excess' in the geographical features of the region, but is incapable of perceiving the landscape except in terms of European parameters (as stated in the sentence in bold type in the quotation) and most of the text then becomes a catalogue of minerals, flora and fauna, and the difficulties of farming. People only appear as part of nature, landowners or labour force.

However, Schmidtmeier demystifies the savagery of the indigenous population and takes a point of view which allows him to see their 'barbarism' from a new perspective:

... polygamy, which operated as strong inducement for the preservation of bodily endowments, the labour and difficulties of a roving life, of providing for numerous families in some regions, of sheltering them from enemies, wild beasts and reptiles in others, and lastly the additional chance of slavery occasioned by the arrival and spreading conquests of Europeans, may be held out as the origin of the custom, found generally prevailing ... of destroying their

progeny, with the exception of one or at most two children, or of not giving birth to any at all. This was a barbarous feature: but, an Indian might also find just cause for the reproach of much inhumane injustice, in the institutions and customs of several of the most polished nations, and think it an act much less criminal to destroy a child at its birth or before it, than to give a long unhappy life to many [...] Another remarkable feature was the treatment of such of the prisoners as the Indians chose to preserve for performing the office of slaves, which was usually so kind, that they became strongly attached to their masters and were looked upon as members of their families. (112–113)

They are very fond of gambling at cards, but this I only saw once or twice: they cheat very expertly, and most deliberately plunge their knives into one another's body for foul play, when it is discovered. (116)

While he mentions theories that consider American Indians mentally deficient, he claims that 'The ingenuity and intelligence of the American Indians have been displayed in many branches of manufactures, both before and after the conquest' (116). What is more, this unusual point of view is not restricted to the Indians:

The inhabitants whom I have had an opportunity of observing, chiefly consisted of creoles, and of mixed races. They have been represented as very passionate, but I cannot think their passions near so strong as those of northern Europeans. (114)

Schmidtmeier's text is not cited as often as others by later travellers and does not seem to have been as influential as other travel books upon 19th century Argentine writers. Perhaps this is related to the unconventional views presented above, as the narratives on the 'desert' published later, particularly in Argentina, will attempt to legitimate not only the control but the annihilation of the 'savages' that hamper the advance of civilisation.

PROCTOR, Robert (1825). *Narrative of a Journey Across the Cordillera de los Andes... In the Years 1823 and 1824.*

Sent to America as an agent to decide on a loan to the Peruvian government,

Proctor intends to report on the political and economic circumstances of that country. His itinerary across the River Plate and the Andes is then part of a larger project, as is the case with Mawe's visit. Although the River Plate is not the object of his report, Proctor's gaze is that of an assessor deciding on investments:

Although the country wears a dreary and uninteresting appearance to a superficial observer, there is still sufficient matter for speculation. The soil is the most fertile that can be imagined [...] all that is wanting is an **active population to cultivate the soil**, and sufficiently numerous to resist the incursions of the Indians ... The roads are mere tracks where the turf has been worn off and the soil left bare, but not so much as to form ruts. The couriers generally go from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, a distance of about 1000 miles, in eight or nine days; and it has been done by some Englishmen in less than two thirds of that time...

(17, my emphasis)

The riches of the country are neglected by the native population, and the text seems to suggest that the 'active population to cultivate the soil' cannot be Indians, who should be kept under control, nor Gauchos, as

These savages, for they can scarcely be otherwise described, are extremely addicted to gambling [...]. At [the] pulperías, the Gauchos and other inhabitants hold their revels, and meet for the purpose of gambling, and it is a practice in consequence of their ungoverned tempers to stick to their knives in the counter as a pledge that they do not intend to quarrel: however, on any series of ill-luck or other provocation, they immediately run to their favourite weapon. [...] they rarely escape without some serious wound. (15 -16)

As opposed to Schmidtmeier, who sees this use of the knife as a way of ensuring fair play (Cf. p.98), Proctor sees it as a sign of barbarism which will become stereotypical in early Argentine 'gauchesca' literature (as in the *Martín Fierro* and *Juan Moreira*, to mention but a few) and in Borges's depiction of the 'cuchillero' later.

The pampas are again depicted negatively, in contrast with the beauty of

Mendoza and the surrounding Andes, 'the majestic Cordillera ascending proudly in the back ground (*sic*) in noble masses of light and shade':

Mendoza... is hailed as a beautiful object, and the remembrance of it dwells upon the mind the more agreeably and forcibly from the contrast it forms to the dreariness and sameness of the pampas. (48)

However, he is disappointed when he reaches the top:

Here we stopped for a few minutes to pick up some trifling memorials of the spot, and to look around for a view which, from the **immense height** at which we stood, might have been expected to have included a whole hemisphere: indeed one our modern poets (Campbell) has so spoken of it -

"Where Andes, giant of the western star,  
His meteor-standard to the winds unfurl'd,  
Looks from his throne of clouds o'er half the world."

But making all allowance for poetical exaggeration, I certainly thought **from what I had read in the accounts of other travellers** that I should be able to **stretch my sight to Chili**, described as **the richest country** of the globe, **spread out at our feet like a map**, and repaying our toil by the **boundlessness and luxuriance** of its **prospects**. I was much disappointed to find quite the contrary the fact. Behind us we could see nothing but the valley we had left, at an **immeasurable depth**, **dismal and solitary**, above us, on each side were the **craggy peaks and snow-crowned tops** of the mountains, which **towered still higher into the skies**: before us the view was still more **dreary and unpromising**. **Enormous black mountains were piled together without order**, and seemed much more **barren and savage** than those we had already passed'.

(79-80, my emphasis)

Just as Darwin acknowledges that 'the force of impressions generally depends on preconceived ideas' (Cf. p. 89), Proctor bases his expectations on the impressions of previous travel writers, but while Darwin admits 'mine were taken from the vivid descriptions in the *Personal Narrative* of Humboldt', Proctor does not identify his sources. The words in bold type in the extract above show that Proctor describes the Andes in terms of excess by means of hyperbole ('stretch my sight to Chili', 'the richest country', 'spread out at our feet like a map', 'immeasurable depth', 'towered still higher into the skies') as

well as through nouns ('boundlessness', 'luxuriance') and adjectives ('enormous') that reinforce the exotic picture to the point of turning it into a Gothic landscape: 'dismal', 'solitary', 'craggy', 'snow-crowned', 'dreary', 'barren', 'savage'. The reader may wonder whether this disappointment is derived from an idealised reading of the previous travellers or from the fact that the capitalist seeing-man cannot really see what he expected: 'the richest country ... repaying [his] toil by the boundlessness and luxuriance of its prospects'. Instead, the view is 'unpromising' in his terms, and this prevents him from enjoying the uniqueness of the scenery before him. The mountains appear 'piled together without order'. Just as the civilising arm of European labour should counteract neglect, nature should be less excessive, more orderly -tame, rather than savage.

In the light of the passages discussed above, Proctor's criticism of nature could in fact be metaphorically applied to the inhabitants of the region and their habits:

Within the Euromyth, the Spanish American is accorded scarcely any other existence, and certainly no voice: only Nature speaks.  
(Pratt 1992: 141)

AN ENGLISHMAN (1825). *A Five Year's Residence in Buenos Ayres During the Years 1820 to 1825.*

Although published under the pen name 'An Englishman' it is believed that the text was written by Thomas George Love, founder of the newspaper *The British Packet and Argentine News*, published in Buenos Aires between 1826 and 1858<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>5</sup> José Antonio Wilde states this in *Buenos Aires desde Setenta Años Atrás*, Santos Samuel Trifilo (1959) agrees, though he lists the text as 'Anonymous' a year earlier (1958:41), and the catalogue of the 'Biblioteca Nacional' (National Library) lists the book under this author's name.

What singles out this work from the rest of the series is that it focuses entirely on Buenos Aires. The text, which Prieto (2003: 69) describes as ‘a respectful and conventional description of the city, its inhabitants and customs’ (2003: my translation)<sup>6</sup> is a valuable historical source on domestic life during the period known as ‘The Happy Experience’ (Gallo 2002: 13): the government of president Rivadavia, which encouraged the first waves of immigration from Europe and from Britain in particular (Cf. pp. 58-59).

What the text has in common with other travel literature is its assessment of the conditions of the city for immigration. The author enthusiastically encourages his fellow Britons to emigrate to Argentina, although he does admit there is a preference for whatever is French and a certain prejudice against the English:

Many fine young Englishmen reside in Buenos Ayres in mercantile and other employments: this portion associate a great deal with the inhabitants, with whom they have formed a perfect intimacy.

[...] Here is a rich soil, without any dread of sands and blights, as at the Cape of Good Hope; and if they cannot amass a fortune, they are sure to live, and that comfortably. Of the kind-hearted inhabitants I have already spoken: my countrymen may be assured, there are no foreigners with whom he will find himself so much at home as with the Buenos Ayreans. Therefore, I again repeat, that farmers with a small capital may gain a livelihood –perhaps, more; labourers are sure of constant employment; and mechanics are ever in request. The climate is congenial; the government are their sure protectors; and the people, in spite of every prejudice, esteem our nation. The age of revolutions, I think, is past; and, during their utmost violence, strangers were never molested. British vessels from Liverpool are continually arriving: and the cost of the passage is moderate. (45)

One of the great ‘attractions’ he highlights is women. As opposed to the repugnance felt by Brand in the presence of Gaucho women (Cf. pp. 117-118),

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<sup>6</sup> Prieto only mentions the text in passing as a source for Brand’s text and does not count it among the travel books which influenced early Argentine literature.

the author of this text seems to be attracted by the women in the city of Buenos Aires.

Faces may be seen here, of female beauty, worthy a painter's study; – the intelligent dark eye, polished forehead, and persons moulded by grace itself. England is called the land of beauty, and it deserves its name; but beauty is not peculiar to England alone. Buenos Ayres contains within its walls as much loveliness as imagination can dream of. (55)

But this admiration applies to the population as a whole:

The inhabitants possess a happy medium between French vivacity and English reserve. [...] It is only to know these people, to esteem them. (55)

However, he does mention resistance to intermarriage and advocates the 'importation' of English women, with precautions:

Families should never think of bringing pretty unmarried servant girls with them from Europe; they are almost sure of losing them. Be the girls ever so determined, they will find a difficulty in resisting the offers of marriage from the numerous English bachelor mechanics, who are at a sad loss for wives: – **a Spanish wife is not to their taste.** Therefore, those who wish to keep their servants, must choose the ugliest they can procure – something that may be an antidote to the warm passions of our English Damons. An importation of British females with tolerable personal charms would answer here, as well as in many other places abroad. I wish some adventurer would beat up for recruits amongst the nursery maids at the west end of the town in London; it would be an excellent speculation, and serve the poor girls into the bargain. (45, my emphasis)

Although marriage is discussed in terms of business, the light-hearted tone of the account allows the reader to get an insider's view of daily life in the city and a domestic perspective of the historical events that led to the development of the Anglo-Argentine community.

HEAD, Francis Bond (1826). *Rough Notes Taken During some Rapid Journeys Across the Pampas and Among the Andes.*

----- (1827). *Reports on the Failure of the Río de la Plata Mining Association.*

In 1825, Captain Francis Bond Head, an engineer from Edinburgh educated in the Royal Military Academy, was commissioned to report on the possibility of exploiting silver and gold mines in Argentina and Chile. It was, as described in the title, a rapid journey, and Head published his rough notes, 'only made to amuse [his] mind' (viii), immediately after his return. He clearly meant to differentiate this text from the technical *Reports* he published in 1827 to account for the failure of such ventures.

In the preface, he echoes the title of Humboldt's emblematic work: 'I had little time or opportunity to make any memoranda beyond those of the most trifling description of **personal narrative**' (vi, my emphasis), and he then highlights the fragmentary style of the text that follows:

During my journeys I kept no regular journal, for the country I visited was either a boundless plain or desert mountains; but I occasionally made a few rough notes, describing anything which interested or amused me.

These notes were written under great variety of circumstances, sometimes when I was tired, sometimes when I was refreshed, sometimes with a bottle of wine before me, and sometimes with a cow's-horn filled with dirty brackish water; and a few were written on board the packet. (viii)

His perception of the pampas also echoes Humboldt's (Cf. p. 90):

From the Paramillo, the view on the east, or contrary direction, is also very interesting. It is pleasing to look down on the difficulties which have been surmounted even to gain this point; and beyond is **a vast expanse of what, at first, very much resembles the ocean**, but which one soon recognises as the vast plains of Mendoza and the Pampas. (139, my emphasis)

His depiction of the Gaucho against the background of this landscape is made through adjectives that idealise the exotic:

In the whole of this immense region there is not a weed to be seen. The coarse grass is its sole produce; and in the summer, when it is high, it is **beautiful** to see the effect which the wind has in passing over this **wild expanse** of waving grass: the shades between the brown and yellow are **beautiful** – the scene is **placid beyond**

**description** – no habitation and no human being is to be seen, unless occasionally **the wild and picturesque outline of the Gaucho on the horizon** – his scarlet poncho streaming horizontally behind him, his balls flying round his head, and as he bends forward towards his prey, his horse straining every nerve: before him is the ostrich he is pursuing, the distance between them gradually diminishing – his neck stretched out, and striding over the ground **in the most magnificent style** – but the latter is soon lost in the distance, and the Gaucho's horse is also often below the horizon, while his head shows that the chase is not yet decided. (133, my emphasis)

Elements of local colour such as the 'scarlet poncho' and the 'balls' ('boleadoras') used by the Gaucho to bring down his prey as he rides, 'his horse straining every nerve', will all become clichés of 'gauchesca' literature and visual representations of life in the pampas. In spite of the verbs of action and process the narrator uses (*bends forward, pursuing, flying round his head, the distance gradually diminishing*), the picture of the chase seems to have been frozen, as if he was describing a painting of the scene. Five years before Head arrived in Buenos Aires, Emeric Essex Vidal had published in London *Picturesque Illustration of Buenos Aires and Montevideo*, twenty four engravings among which 'Balling ostriches' and 'Estancia' resemble (and perhaps influenced) Head's description (see the paintings at <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=6&CategoryId=7>)

The narrator also admires the communion between Gaucho children and nature, in an idealisation of primitivism:

On approaching the huts, it is interesting to see the little Gauchos, who, brought up without wants, and taught to consider the heaven over their heads as a canopy under which they may all sleep, literally climb up the tails of the horses which they are unable otherwise to mount, and then sport and gallop after each other, while their father's stirrups are dangling below their naked feet. In the foreground of nature, there is perhaps no figure so beautiful as that of a child who rides well, and the picturesque dress of the little Gaucho adds very much to his appearance. I have often admired these children as they have been sent with me from one post to

another. Although the shape of their body is concealed by the poncho, yet the manner in which it partakes of the motion of the horse is particularly elegant. (134)

But the handsome Gaucho is also represented by the one who steals his horse, brings it back without the bridle claiming they have been robbed and then sells him his own bridle (133).

Head also praises the Indian, whom he has no direct contact with, as strong and hard working:

During my gallop in America, I had little time or opportunity to see many of the Indians; yet from what I did hear and see of them, I sincerely believe they are as fine a set of men as ever existed under the circumstances in which they are placed. In the mines I have seen them using tools which our miners declared they had not strength to work with, and carrying burdens which no man in England could support; and I appeal to those travellers who have been carried over the snow on their backs, whether they were able to have returned the compliment; and if not, **what can be more grotesque than the figure of a civilised man riding upon the shoulders of a fellow-creature whose physical strength he has ventured to despise.**

(63- 64, my emphasis)

In the statement in bold type above, Head proposes a reversal of the civilisation-barbarism binary. Although the Indian is presented in contrast to a 'civilised man', the polarity seems to have been inverted: the Indian is strong and collaborative, while the white man's behaviour is 'grotesque'. Head empathises with the original inhabitants of the land and acknowledges their ownership of the place:

... after viewing the fertility and beauty of so interesting a country, it is painful to consider what the sufferings of the Indians have been, and still may be. Whatever may be their physical or moral character, whether more or less puny in body or in mind than the inhabitants of the old world, still they are the human beings placed there by the Almighty; the country belonged to them, and they are therefore entitled to the regard of every man who has religion enough to believe that God has made nothing in vain, or whose mind is just enough to respect the persons and the rights of his fellow-creatures. (63)

He idealises their primitive, 'natural' life to the point of minimising the risks of encountering those people who even the rude Gauchos call 'barbarians':

To people accustomed to the cold passions of England, it would be impossible to describe the savage, inveterate, furious hatred which exists between the Gauchos and the Indians. The latter invade the country for the ecstatic pleasure of murdering the Christians, and in the contests which take place between them mercy is unknown.

[...]

I regretted very much that I had not time to throw off my clothes and pay a visit to some of the tribes, which I should otherwise certainly have done, as, with proper precautions, there would have been little to fear (66-67).

In contrast to this romanticised depiction of the countryside and its dwellers, the cities of Buenos Aires and Mendoza are presented as dirty, uncomfortable or immoral places when compared to European towns and in San Luis they 'found nothing but bare walls and fleas' (29). In particular, Head is shocked by the matadero in Buenos Aires (the slaughterhouses area, Cf. p. 61), also painted by Vidal, and by women bathing naked in the Río Mendoza:

It will hardly be credited that, while this Alameda is crowded with people, women of all ages, without clothes of any sort or kind, are bathing in great numbers in the stream which literally bounds the promenade. Shakespeare tells us, that "the chastest maid is prodigal enough if she unveil her beauties to the moon," but the ladies of Mendoza, not contented with this, appear even before the sun; and in the mornings and evenings they really bathe without any clothes in the Rio de Mendoza, the water of which is seldom up to their knees, the men and women all together; and certainly of all the scenes which in my life I have witnessed, I never beheld one so indescribable. (36)

In his conclusions, although he finds the future of the region promising and he emphasises the dignity of the Gaucho and the Indian in spite of their rude way of life, Head advises investors to think twice, given 'the probable difficulties which these provinces will experience in their progress towards civilization'

(162). The civilisation vs. barbarism binary is present in the narrative, although not as absolute terms. Head is also very critical of the early Anglo-Argentine community, whose habits and manners seem to suffer in warmer climates and away from their original civilised environment:

The society of the lower class of English and Irish at Buenos Aires is very bad, and their constitutions are evidently impaired by drinking, and by the heat of the climate, while their morals and characters are much degraded. Away from the religious and moral example of their own country, and out of sight of their own friends and relations, they rapidly sink into habits of carelessness and dissipation, which are but too evident to those who come fresh from England; and it is really too true, that all the British emigrants at Buenos Aires are sickly in their appearance, dirty in their dress, and disreputable in their behaviour. (162-163)

Head's text seems to have been one of the most influential in the series, except for Darwin's *Journal* later, as it is regularly referred to by other travel writers, including Darwin.

ANDREWS; Joseph (1827 / 1971) *Journey from Buenos Ayres Through the Provinces of Cordova, Tucuman and Salta to Potosi. Thence by the Deserts of Caranja to Africa, and Subsequently to Santiago de Chile and Coquimbo*. 2 vols.

Andrews, who had spent several years in South America before the commercial mission in 1825 that led to this text, disagrees with the conclusions drawn by Head on the region. In his preface, he blames mismanagement and unrealistic expectations for the failure of British commercial ventures (x) and argues with Head's text (xxii-xxvi).

In spite of this disagreement, the text follows Head's in other respects and explicitly forms a series with his personal narrative and Mier's:

These enormous plains, or pampas, are the region of Guacho (*sic*) and animal independence and liberty. This immense level might not unappropriately be denominated a "terrene ocean." The horizon, uninterrupted, and apparently unbounded, is overwhelmingly vast to

the mind of the beholder. Its extent, climate, indigenous vegetation, and isolated inhabitants, have been so variously described, that I should be thought to amplify too much if I attempted it here, especially when contemporary travellers\* have so recently given the world lively and interesting descriptions of them.

\* Miers and Head (23)

Buenos Aires is described more positively than in Head's text (especially because Andrews has the opportunity to enjoy 'British style' hospitality):

I should state my impression to be that they are making rapid advances in copying the British, as well in respect to their furniture and the decorations of their houses, as in the attractions of the table. (19)

Once the exploratory trip starts, the pampas are once again compared to the sea (the 'terrene ocean' above) and the Gaucho is admired for his independence:

... riding *a la Guacho*, you saddle your own horse, live upon beef and water, sleep on the earth, and gallop from a hundred to one hundred and fifty miles a day, (that is in case of a *forced* journey), and the doing which is no doubt calculated to promote health, and impart to the mind a pleasant feeling of independence. (24-25)

The Indians are feared:

... at the fall of the year, when they make their incursions after the thistles are dead... The decay of the thistles<sup>7</sup> which cover these plains, and grow in the season to an enormous height, is essential before the Indian horse and rider can prowl the pampas, as their bodies are not then exposed to the formidable spines of the plant which autumn and winter scatter before the winds. (25)

But Andrews does not come into contact with the original inhabitants of the region until he reaches Santiago del Estero, and there he finds them pacific and hospitable:

At Santiago itself, we were not entertained with greater kindness than by these poor Indians. We had excellent fare... at the threshold of a roaring fire, and, surrounded by a bronze faced tribe of men, women, and children, gazing on us, and cracking their jokes. It was a scene much more than entertaining – it was novel and interesting. It was one of untutored pleasant hospitality. (166–167)

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<sup>7</sup> The thistle, that symbol of Scotland that Scottish settlers will be glad to find in the pampas, becomes a motif, either as protection against robbers and other threats or as a hideout for robbers.

Prieto (2003: 53-55) analyses Andrews' use of hyperbole and romantic imagery in the description of the mountainous landscape of Tucumán and Salta (as well as his use of the term 'romantic' to refer to such landscape). He also discusses the literary references Andrews uses to express his sense of awe, including the lines by Campbell quoted by Proctor (Cf. pp. 100-101). But he also highlights the tension between those emotions and the way 'urgencies of his version of the rationalist-utilitarian discourse interfere without any subtlety in the texture of his celebration of the landscape' (55, my translation), which can be seen in the following extract:

There they were before me, those pillars of the universe, of which Ulloa, and other travellers, have written so much, and of which inspired poets have sung! These wonders of creation, it is hoped, may still be explored by the remote English, be subjected to the tool of the miner, and administer to the commercial wealth of their country. Gazing on the nearest chain and its towering summits, Don Thomas and myself erected airy castles on their huge sides. We excavated rich veins of ore, we erected furnaces for smelting, we saw in imagination a crowd of workmen moving like busy insects along the eminences, and fancied the wild and vast region peopled by the energies of Britons from a distance of nine or ten thousand miles. (214-215)

Nature will be conquered, mountains mined, forests felled – not by the idle native inhabitants with 'their gambling disposition' (278) but by 'the energies of Britons' – in places like Lagunillas, Salta, which

offers an opportunity to any industrious Englishman with a small capital to make a handsome fortune in a few years. Its easy distance from the city, romantic situation, and general capabilities for the establishment of an inn or tea garden, upon the British plan, warrant such a conclusion. (278)

TEMPLE, Edmond (1833) *Travels in Various Parts of Peru, Including a Year's Residence in Potosi*. 2 Vols.

Temple also arrived in the River Plate in 1825, with similar objectives to those of Head and Andrews. He acknowledges the insertion of his text within a

series which has become popular in Europe and reinforces the comparison between the pampas and the ocean, by then a cliché:

After leaving the region of thistles before mentioned, we travelled for about 120 miles through a country of more agreeable aspect, though not a tree as yet appeared to our view, the whole being one vast field of rich pasture. This is the true pampa of South America, of which we have of late years read and heard so much in Europe. (67)

His explicit source, however, is Humboldt, who is quoted as an authority as if no other writers had written on the region, which in fact Humboldt did not explore:

This noble plain, entirely covered with pasture, extends many hundred miles into the regions of Patagonia, where it is yet unexplored. M. Humboldt calculates its area at 70,000 square leagues. "This area," he observes, "of the pampas of Tucuman, Buenos Ayres, and Patagonia, (they are all united) is consequently four times as large as the area of all France." (67)

His descriptions of the beautifully 'romantic' country of Tucumán and Salta (135/157) and the 'romantic situation of the village of Cobos' (140) remind the reader of Andrews' use of the word, but the style is less hyperbolic, resembling Humboldt's in its blend of pragmatic considerations and personal impression.

The central focus of his work is, as the title suggests, 'various parts of Peru' but his trip across the pampas and the northern regions of Argentina allows him to express his views on the Gaucho:

The Gauchos, or inhabitants of the endless plains called pampas, are, in appearance, a fine race, but, in comparison with the peasantry of England and France, little better than a species of carnivorous baboon. Their immense herds of cattle and flocks of sheep afford them sufficient means of existence without trouble, and on these they live contented; bread and vegetables are but little thought of; not that they *cannot* be had from the soil, but because it requires pains and labour to produce them. (60)

The idleness and lack of ambition resulting from being able to get 'sufficient means of existence without trouble' is reinforced by his experience in northern Argentina, but Temple tries to justify these character features by blaming the environment and lack of education. Besides, he makes sure he does not put the Gaucho at the same level as Indians by referring to Schmidtmeyer's positive views (Cf. 99):

As for his existence, that costs him neither pains nor trouble to support; a piece of beef or mutton can be had any where: and this, so far as my observations have been hitherto directed, appears to me to apply pretty generally to the Gauchos. Not that I pretend to include the whole race in one harsh sentence, or to say, as some have said, that *all* are no better than the uncivilized Indian. It is equally illiberal and unjust to assert that they are devoid of feelings of humanity and benevolence, and that no intelligence and good sense are to be found amongst them. [...] But after all, where the advantages arising from emulation and industry are denied, as hitherto has been the case in this devoted country, idleness and indolence must be the natural consequences.

[...] upon closer acquaintance with them, I am inclined to agree with Schmidtmeyer, who... remarks, that although they are excessively cruel to animals, it is from the absence of feeling, not from the indulgence of passion.

[...]

I also agree with Schmidtmeyer, in never having witnessed a really passionate state of mind among these people. I leave it to philosophers to decide if this patience be a virtue, or if it be merely the effect of that innate indolence which forms the chief characteristic of the South Americans, and for which, it is probable, they are indebted to Spanish parentage and Spanish government, quite as much as to the influence of climate. (117- 118)

Prieto (2003: 60) highlights the evidence of antihispanism in this and other texts of the period. In this light, the 'Gaucho idleness vs. European industriousness' binary does not apply to Spaniards, who are in binary opposition to the enterprising British in this series.

HAIGH, Samuel (1831). *Sketches of Buenos Ayres, Chile and Peru.*

An agent of British commercial ventures, Haigh arrived in Buenos Aires for the first time in 1817 and visited Chile. On his return from his third trip in 1827, in which he visited several places on the Pacific, he found the recent publications by Head and Andrews, which covered the regions he had stayed in.

Haigh published his *Sketches* in 1829. He must have noticed the existence of a 'successful reading circle' and the 'modulation of a shared textual code' among the texts consumed by that circle (Prieto 2003: 61, my translation). He clearly intended to write a text which could be part of the series.

The present volume is not intended either as an historical, statistical, or political description of the countries I have seen, but is merely the result of observations jotted down at the time, in my note-book, and may, strictly speaking, be called a **personal narrative**, as it contains details of the various impressions left upon my mind on first visiting the new world. (5, my emphasis)

The fact that he had visited the region on several occasions, even as early as the war of independence, allowed him to cover a broader historical period (chapter I starts with the British Invasions, 11 years before his first visit, and he refers to bull fights, which were forbidden in 1822). He describes in detail the streets of Buenos Aires, where he finds 'a greater appearance of liveliness and bustle than in any other South American town' (17) and, like Love ('An Englishman') before him (Cf. p. 103), he delights in praising the beauty of the local women.

Although he criticises the digressions and unnecessary details provided by 'modern travellers' (50), he does provide a meticulous description of the stages of his trip and resorts to literary references and quotations, such as

Byron and Ossian. Following the shared generic code, his description of the Gaucho is stereotypical:

... the inhabitants of the Pampas are called *Gauchos*; these people may be said to live on horseback; a more frank, free, and independent being, than the Gaucho, does not exist. (53)

Nothing can impress the beholder with a nobler idea of independence than a Gaucho on horseback; his elevated head, his upright and graceful air, the rapid movements of his welltrained steed, all concur to give a true picture of the beau ideal of freedom. (56)

His depiction of the Indians is equally stereotypical:

They are an independent and fearless set of men, but ferocious and cruel to their enemies, never giving quarter, as their system of war is that of extermination. The prodigious feats which they perform on horseback is the theme of praise and wonder even amongst the *Gauchos*. (34)

But this description is based on a literary source confirmed by the accounts of both his 'countrymen' and 'natives'.

As I have, fortunately, never met with any of them in a body on the plains, and as this work is intended only to describe what I have actually seen, I beg to refer to the very intelligent account given of these people by Captain Head, in his "Rough Notes on the Pampas" (33-34)

His reference to the sea when describing the pampas is also openly intertextual:

The country called the Pampas, is quite flat and uninteresting, as far as regards scenery; you ride from post to post, without the least change of view; it looks ... like a *sea of land*. (59)

and the description of a Gaucho 'in pursuit of an ostrich... with its long neck stretched horizontally, and its wings outspread like sails' (65) reminds the reader of Head's (Prieto 2003: 62). But while Head freezes the scene as in a painting or a photograph (Cf. p. 106), Haigh describes it with a series of action verbs which give it a cinematic quality, closing the persecution with the realistic description of the aftermath:

Its pursuer, waving his *bolas* aloft, continued in full cry, for some moments, when, discharging his missiles, he brought the bird to the earth: he then cut off its long neck to make a purse of the skin, and stripped its wings and its tail of the feathers, leaving the body to perish where it fell. (65-66)

BEAUMONT, J.A.B. (1828). *Travels in Buenos Ayres, and the Adjacent provinces of the Rio de la Plata.*

In 1826, Beaumont was in charge of 200 British immigrants who were to settle in Entre Ríos. His selection of topics is that of the other texts in the series, although he includes some interviews (like the one with Rivadavia) and covers a geographical area that is not the focus of the previous works. His presentation of the Gaucho and the Indian fit the stereotypes described, at times echoing Schmidtmeyer in his attempt to go beyond the category of barbarism (Cf. pp. 98-99).

His description of landscape is in open opposition to that of his immediate predecessors and takes us back to Caldcleugh and Schmidtmeyer (Cf. 96 / 98):

There is nothing in the country to court the eye of taste, or inspire the pen of imagination; the sublime and the beautiful are strangers to its scenes: it contains no traces of ancient greatness, nor records of former worth; but it is a country which presents an almost unbounded field for the support of man, and which nothing but the misdoings of his own race can render unavailable. (viii)

The narrative is highly anecdotal, with captives running away from Indian camps and women escaping the burning of fields ('thistles on fire') as well as the account of the hardships suffered by the British settlers in Entre Ríos, and a final chapter with a report for prospective British immigrants, with references to the reports by Head and Miers.

BRAND, Charles (1828). *Journal of a Voyage to Peru: A passage Across the Cordillera de los Andes in the Winter of 1827. Performed on Foot in the Snow, and a Journey Across the Pampas.*

Lieutenant Brand was a naval officer who arrived in Buenos Aires in July 1827 and within six months crossed the Andes 'on foot in the snow', as specified in the subtitle, reached Lima and went back to England. The preface does not specify the purpose of his hasty visit at a time of year which makes travelling difficult, which leads Prieto to speculate that he might have been sent on a secret military or political mission (2003: 68).

In his account of such a short stay, he devotes very little space to the city of Buenos Aires, and Mendoza is the only Argentine city which deserves more attention in his report, which he was persuaded to publish once back in London, although he did not mean to write a text of literary merit when he wrote his journal, 'for it was written in haste from day to day, during very rapid journies' (vi). The focus of the narrative is the crossing of the Andes in midwinter, whose perilous nature Brand tries to demystify.

Prieto (2003: 70) finds Brand's impressions of the Pampas (again compared to the sea) intertextually related to Head's text. He also perceives Head's influence in Brand's efforts to show the positive side of the Gauchos, whom he initially describes as violent, indolent gamblers:

The natives of the Pampas are a remarkably fine, handsome race of men, with expressive, intelligent countenances. From necessity, being driven entirely to their own resources for a livelihood, they have acquired a very independent air; and from living almost on horseback, it approaches even to nobleness. Their good qualities are very conspicuous: treat them civilly, they will always return it in kind far beyond what may be expected. [...] Living as free and independent as the wind, they cannot and will not acknowledge superiority in any fellow-mortal. They are fond of asking questions, but it will be done with all the air and manners of a courtier, fearing to give offence; nevertheless, they will expect to be answered with equal civility. Their ideas are all equality: the humble peon, and my lord, would be addressed equally alike by the simple Gaucho with the title of "Señor". (73-74)

But this depiction of the Gaucho ends up in a misogynous statement which Prieto (2003:71) considers an unexpected innovation within the series, though anticipated in Miers's views (Cf. p. 95).

Strange withal, they should be so dirty and indolent: the women in particular, as I have before stated, are disgustingly so. Comfort they have no idea of: as long as they can poke about in the mud and dirt, sitting almost suffocated round the fire in the middle of their filthy huts, with a cigar in their mouths, they are happy. Should they be required to do anything for the passengers, they will get up, and shaking the vermin off their clothes, scratch themselves for a while, and set about it with all the ill will of a surly dog obeying its master; and their manner of speaking is that disgusting, apathetic whine, so peculiar to the West Indian Creoles. (74)

Another innovative feature identified by Prieto (2003: 71) is the incorporation of 'tourism discourse': Brand's audience seems to be not only settlers and investors but also prospective travellers who may only be seeking adventure. The plate which precedes the title page, whose caption reads 'Ascending the Cumbre of the Andes in the Depths on Winter, August 22, 1827', shows a group of adventurers climbing the steep side of a snow-covered mountain effortlessly. This encouragement is reinforced by Brand's title and his insistence on the safety of the journey if the right precautions are taken. The sections 'Seasons for Crossing the Cordillera' and 'Hints to Travellers' in chapter 11 are explicitly meant as a 'travellers' guide', a genre which originated in the 1830s with the publications of Karl Baedeker in Germany and John Murray in Britain (MacKenzie in Salvatore 2005: 218).

It may... be necessary for my readers to be informed, which are, and which are not, the best months in the year for crossing the Cordillera of the Andes. For this purpose, I gained the best information both at Santiago and Mendoza; and, from my own observation, and what I gleaned from the arrieros and peons of the mountains, the following statement will be found pretty correct, and may be depended upon with safety. (275)

Brand's text precedes the development of the travel handbooks published mainly by John Murray in London, whose target public was 'a white imperial "imaginary community" which extended globally', defying national boundaries (MacKenzie 2005: 218). According to MacKenzie, the British Empire was not only built thanks to 'the sword and the canon, the Bible and the flag, Christianity and commerce, but also the guide and the map' (2005: 219). Brands' text can be inscribed among the predecessors of this genre, thus transcending the limits of the 'utilitarian trip' in the traditional, commercial sense.

WEBSTER, W.H.B. (1834). *Narrative of a Voyage to the Southern Ocean, in the Years 1828, 1829, 1830*. 2 Vols.

In 1828, the year in which Brand published his account, a British ship, the *Chanticleer*, arrived in Staten Island and Tierra del Fuego. William Henry Bayley Webster was the surgeon on board and wrote this work on the basis of 'notes made with scrupulous care' (iii). Webster's text is the last of a series of regular publications by British travellers, which will be reinitiated a few years later. It differs from the others in that it does not deal with the customary trip across the pampas towards the Andes to cross into Chile and Peru through the Andean paths in Mendoza. Most of the text is of scientific interest, with detailed descriptions of the landscape and weather conditions in the Cape and the Antarctic.

It is not until chapter VIII that Webster focuses on the Fuegians, whom he finds indolent and easy to please with trinkets. He finds them 'a tractable and docile people, fully capable of receiving instruction' (175) but he is frustrated when he tries to teach them to use tools and fabrics the European way. The

men 'have no beards, and only a few short hairs on their upper lip; they have dark glistening eyes, with long fine and soft black hair; their teeth are white and regular, and the calves of their legs are very small' (180). The women, 'the obsequious servants of the men' (182), have 'slender wrists with rather small hands and handsome tapering fingers, which they use with a gracefulness not to be found elsewhere among their class in the scale of the creation' (181).

However,

they have a filthy habit of daubing soot and grease mixed together on their faces: they disfigure their legs with streaks of a white pigment, the principal ingredient of which is grease; they also anoint their hair with a mixture of grease and red ochre; all of which tends not a little to render the vicinity of their persons by no means desirable.' (181)

This account, which Prieto finds rather condescending (2003: 74), supplemented by a description of the Fuegians' fishing habits and use of weapons, is all Webster writes about the inhabitants of the region before passing on to a description of Cape Town, at the other end of the Southern Seas – a very different focus from that of another physician, Thomas Falkner, several decades earlier (Cf. pp. 83-87).

CAMPBELL SCARLETT, Peter (1838). *South America and the Pacific: Comprising a Journey Across the Pampas and the Andes, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaíso, Lima and Panama: with Remarks upon the Isthmus.*

Peter Campbell Scarlett arrived in Buenos Aires in 1834, on his way to Valparaíso, Lima and Panama. His route, as well as the register he uses, can be considered 'canonical'. He is aware of the existence of a series within the travel writing genre, which is confirmed by his mentioning and quoting Head and Temple (Prieto 2003: 74), as well as other authors mentioned above, such as Falkner and Caldcleugh. Like Haigh and the author identified as 'An

Englishman' (Cf. pp. 102-104) , he praises the local women: 'Their climate is so favourable to complexions, that red and white are mingled together as in our own country, and I have seldom seen, in any city, a finer race of women than those of Buenos Ayres.' (97), but he does find fault with their immense tortoiseshell combs and veils.

Like Miers and Caldcleugh, he finds the Córdoba landscape 'a sort of paradise' (200) and, like Miers, tries to find the beauty of the Alps in the Andes, rather than let himself be impressed by their uniqueness, like Humboldt and Head. He is as shocked as Head by the slaughterhouses district (Cf. p. 108), but, unlike his predecessor, he digresses from the description to focus on social groups and the hostility towards the English after the occupation of the Malvinas/Falkland Islands the previous year:

An English butcher of Buenos Ayres took us under his escort... and he cautioned us not to interfere, or get into the way of the natives, who are thought to be less inclined towards the English, since our late occupation of the Falkland Islands. He said we had better not go too near them, for they might either insult us, or lasso our horses, half in joke, half in earnest, so as to produce a quarrel,—in which, as they were all armed with long knives, we should come off second best.

Previous to any further particulars, it may be as well to give here a sketch of the character and habits of this **semi-barbarous race of creole ruffians**. The Gauchos, or farmers, of the distant plain, are in general more peaceably inclined than their brethren near the city, though capable of any atrocity, if once their tempers are fired, and their blood is kindled by any cause, domestic or political. But speaking of the rural population generally, they are a silent, ignorant, superstitious, and harmless people, not ill-disposed towards strangers. But about the environs of the cities, especially those of Buenos Ayres, — where their naturally fierce tempers are perhaps inflamed by the supposed injury we have inflicted upon the nation, in appropriating to ourselves the Falkland Islands, which they claim as their property,— the Gaucho is become more irritable, vindictive, sulky, and insolent. The whole nation love gambling, horseracing, bull-fighting, and even cock-fighting; and their only elegant amusement is playing on the guitar, — of which they seem to be fond, though they are not proficient in the art. (88-89, my emphasis)

Prieto highlights the 'urban vs. rural' dichotomy in this text:

Without distinguishing between forms and motivations, or confronting his perception of others with the perceptions others have of him, the traveller can only derive from this curious episode the simple confirmation of his censorship of the degraded expression of urban life. (2003: 76, my translation)

To this we may add the underlying reinforcement of the binary barbarous Gaucho vs. civilised Englishman, where the latter has the right to appropriate territory and expect polite responses in return .

As regards the Indians, he bases his impressions on the reports of local people and on his reading of Head (Cf. p. 106/107). He concludes that

There is, no doubt, good reason for asserting that a finer race of men does not exist than the Pampas Indians; and it would be curious to trace up the origin, and discover more accurately the customs and particular habits, of a people so little known, and so entirely unsubdued, in defiance of the pains bestowed before and since the emancipation of South America by the mother country, for extirpating them. Lately, indeed, some of the Indians who occupied those parts of the Pampas that were taken possession of in the military campaigns in which General Rosas has become celebrated, have abandoned their wandering habits, and have become settlers, under the protection of the government of Buenos Ayres, and are said to make excellent peons for the service of the Estancias. (274-275)

The tension between two contradictory attitudes towards the original inhabitants is explicit here. On the one hand, Scarlett admires the physical prowess which allows the Pampa Indians to remain 'unsubdued in defiance of the pains bestowed before and since the emancipation of South America by the mother country'. On the other, the abandonment of their own culture and the submission to estancia owners as peons is seen as a positive sign, as a step towards civilisation. It seems that while 'the other' is Spain, it is admirable that the Indian refuses to submit. In fact, he states that 'their wars with the Spaniards have made them more cruel than they would naturally have been'

(275), which contrasts with the white captives' refusal to abandon the tribe when rescued, a fact he learns from Head. On the other hand, when that 'other' is a creole or English rancher, the Indian should join the economic organization of the country he once freely roamed across, accepting wire fences and the menial jobs derived from the appropriation of land and cattle by white men.

PARISH, Woodbine (1838). *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata*.

Woodbine Parish was the first British Consul in Buenos Aires. He arrived in Montevideo on 22 March 1824 and he managed to get the Treaty of Friendship, Navigation and Commerce signed between Britain and the United Provinces of the River Plate in February 1825. The text of the Treaty can be found in an appendix of his book (396).

Parish travelled to Buenos Aires with instructions from George Canning, the Foreign Secretary, to collect as much information as possible about the new country. It was Canning's stated policy that Britain should 'bring the New World into being in order to redress the balance of the Old'. The minister's task was, apart from representing the Crown in all matters concerning Britain, to supply British merchants with the best possible picture of the people and the land they were to deal with. However, the position also afforded Parish an excellent opportunity to pursue his own interests in natural history [...]

Parish stayed in Buenos Aires until 1832, when he took away with him a collection of notes and boxes full of archaeological and botanical finds. A first edition of his notes was published in 1835, after which he received additional material and with that he published *Buenos Ayres and the Provinces of the Rio de la Plata* (1838). He died aged eighty-six in August 1882, at St Leonards, Cornwall.

(Graham-Yooll: 1999: 99/102)

His selection of information is that of a British diplomat. He makes his neutral position clear in the introduction:

On the party questions which have hitherto agitated the people of these countries, I have purposely said as little as possible; much less have I thought of writing the history of a country which has not been a quarter of a century in existence; the institutions of which are quite in their infancy, and must necessarily require a long period ere they can assume a more definite character. (xx)

He does, on the other hand, summarise colonial history and blames Spain for the backwardness he perceives in the region, such as the muddy streets in Buenos Aires, although paving stones are easy to get. He seems to imply that the new republics will benefit, instead, from British colonial policy, and highlights the 'mistake in comparing the condition of the Creoles with that of the British Colonists of North America' (1).

In the British colonies all the foundations of good government were already laid: the principles of civil administration were perfectly understood, and the transition was almost imperceptible.

On the other hand, in the Spanish colonies the whole policy, as well as the power of the mother country, seems to have been based on perpetuating the servile state and ignorance of the natives: branded as an inferior race, they were systematically excluded from all share in the government, from commerce, and every other pursuit which might tend to the development of native talent or industry. The very history of their own unfortunate country was forbidden them, no doubt lest it should open their eyes to the reality of their own debased condition. (9)

He has a positive impression of Buenos Aires (18), though not of its primitive harbour (14-15) and, like Love ('An Englishman', Cf. p. 103) and Haigh (Cf. p. 114) before him, is impressed by the beauty and elegance of Buenos Aires women (32). The text throws light on the domestic life of the period, and Parish admires the progress made in Buenos Aires since his arrival: the more 'European' the wealthy inhabitants of Buenos Aires become the more 'civilised' the city becomes in his eyes.

In nothing is the alteration more striking than in the comparative comfort, if not luxury, which has found its way into the dwellings of the better classes: thanks to the English and French upholsterers, who have swarmed out to Buenos Ayres, the old whitewashed

walls have been covered with paper in all the varieties from Paris; and European furniture of every sort is to be met with in every house. [...] With the influx of strangers, the value of property, especially in the more central part of the city, has been greatly enhanced, and has led the natives to think of economising their ground by constructing upper stories to their houses in the European fashion, the obvious advantage whereof will no doubt ere many years make the plan general, and greatly add to the embellishment of the city. (39)

As from chapter VII, Buenos Aires is no longer the focus of his report and Parish describes Patagonia and the interior. His gaze is both that of a politician and a naturalist. The opening plate of the book is a glyptodon, which evidences his interest in natural history and in adding pieces to the museums in London, as specified in the introduction. In this sense, his text can be said to belong to a series, with Falkner before him and Darwin after him.

The narrative differs from that of his predecessors in that, although he does intersperse his descriptions with personal impressions, Parish is mostly interested in documenting the history of the new country, with constant reference to other people's explorations, maps and other documents of historical, geographical and astronomical relevance. He bases his report on the Indians of the different regions on the experiences and observations of other people. The description of physical appearance and customs is not unlike that of the fauna, or even of fossils, with a recurrent use of the passive voice and only occasional irruption of his own voice to justify their rebellion against the whites and the alliance with the 'vagabond Gauchos', the origins of the barbarism that governments will need to control and will often use to their own advantage:

Although the government took no measures for their protection, the people of the country began to occupy the lands to the south of the

Salado, which soon brought them into contact and collision with the Indians, who, on their part, looked with a very natural jealousy upon settlements planted without their concurrence on lands which from time immemorial they had been accustomed to consider as exclusively their own. The more peaceable tribes retired to the fastnesses in the mountains to the south, but the Ranqueles and other migratory hordes retaliated by carrying off the cattle and plundering those who had thus intruded themselves within their territories. In these marauding expeditions they were often joined by some of the vagabond Gauchos, deserters from the army, and such wretches flying from the pursuit of justice as, in times of civil commotion especially, are to be found in all countries. [...] During the unhappy civil dissensions which broke out between Buenos Ayres and the provinces, some of the unprincipled leaders of the reckless factions which divided the Republic sought alliances with the Indians, the fatal consequences of which they only too late discovered. Like bloodhounds it was impossible to restrain them. When once the weakest points were shown them, they burst in upon the frontier villages, murdering in cold blood the defenceless and unprepared inhabitants, and carrying off the women and children into a slavery of the most horrible description. (127-128)

Finally, forming a series with his 'utilitarian trip' antecedents, the consul devotes the last chapters of his work to two economic aspects which are of particular interest to the British: trade and foreign debt. Rather than an example of travel writing, this is a report based on research, and in many ways anticipates Darwin's closure of the series.

FITZ-ROY, Robert (1839). *Narrative of the Surveying Voyages of His Majesty's Ships Adventure and Beagle, Between the Years 1826 and 1836, Describing their Examination of the Southern Shores of South America, and the Beagle's Circumnavigation of the Globe*. 3 Vols.

This text is a report of the exploration of the Southernmost coasts of the continent on several voyages over a period of eight years. Fitz Roy joined the expedition two years after it started and was put in charge of it when Captain Pringle Stokes committed suicide. Therefore, he had to reconstruct the narrative of the first stage of the voyage through notes taken by officers who preceded him.

Among these segments, there are four encounters with Patagonian Indians in 1827 and 1828. The saddle and spurs of one of the young Indians suggests contact with the Gauchos of the pampas. His mother, María, the only character who appears in the four encounters, acts as an 'informant', that figure of anthropological research which James Clifford considers problematic in that 'a great many of these interlocutors, complex individuals made to speak for "cultural" knowledge, turn out to have their own "ethnographic" proclivities and interesting stories of travel' (1997: 19). Maria speaks a little Spanish and says she was born in Asunción del Paraguay, although the writer of the original report believes she must have come from a place close to Buenos Aires. This shows the hybrid nature of her cultural identities and how this must have influenced the information she gave the British officer who was in turn Fitz Roy's informant. The latter also thinks she mentions Setebos in one of her prayers, although he does not actually hear the word, thus inscribing his own presuppositions onto the narrative (Vol. I, 85-94).

Another important sequence in terms of the construction of the other in Fitz Roy's narrative is the one concerning his decision to take to England four Fuegian Indians in 1830 and return them to their native land in 1833. Darwin refers to this decision in his *Voyage of the Beagle* (Cf. pp. 130-136):

Captain Fitz Roy seized on a party of natives, as hostages for the loss of a boat, which had been stolen [...] and some of these natives, as well as a child whom he bought for a pearl-button, he took with him to England, determining to educate them and instruct them in religion at his own expense. (2001: 184)

Most of the cultural observations Fitz Roy makes on Fuegian peoples are based on what the explorers were told by the three surviving informants. The

English names these Indians are given are another form of appropriation: Fuegia Basket, York Minster and Jemmy Button (where the name refers to the way he was purchased). They learn enough English to communicate their emotions and tell the crew about their rituals and customs. One of the recurrent topics developed by Fitz Roy on the basis of this information is the confirmation of the myth of cannibalism:

The acts of cannibalism occasionally committed by their countrymen, were explained to me in such terms, and with such signs, that I could not possibly misunderstand them; and a still more revolting account was given, though in a less explicit manner, respecting the horrible fate of the eldest women of their own tribes, when there is an unusual scarcity of food... I no longer hesitate to state my firm belief in the most debasing trait of their character which will be found in these pages. (Vol. II, 2)

From the concurring testimony of the three Fuegians above mentioned, obtained from them at various times and by many different persons, it is proved that they eat human flesh upon particular occasions, namely, when excited by revenge or extremely pressed by hunger.[...] The arms and breast are eaten by the women; the men eat the legs ; and the trunk is thrown into the sea. During a severe winter, when hard frost and deep snow prevent their obtaining food as usual, and famine is staring them in the face, extreme hunger impels them to lay violent hands on the oldest woman of their party, hold her head over a thick smoke, made by burning green wood, and pinching her throat, choke her. They then devour every particle of the flesh, not excepting the trunk, as in the former case. Jemmy Button, in telling this horrible story as a great secret, seemed to be much ashamed of his countrymen, and said, he never would do so – he would rather eat his own hands.[...] York told me that they always eat enemies whom they killed in battle ; and I have no doubt that he told me the truth. (Vol. II, 183)

This perception, which Darwin confirms, is considered a ‘scandalous mistake’ by Esteban Lucas Bridges, who lived with the yámanas at the end of the 19th century (Cf. pp. 229-232). Based on Michael Taussig’s study of the massacre of the Putumayo Indians at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Gareth Griffiths (1994: 72) comments on the operations underlying this interest in cannibalism:

For the whites engaged in the activity of 'conquest' the dominant sign for the Indians is that of the cannibal. As Taussig notes it is this signifier which enables the Indian to be characterized as savage.

The interest the whites display is obsessive; ... and it is always with what becomes in effect the insufferably comic image of the person-eating Indian that he chooses to represent that fear of being consumed by a wild, unknown, half-sensed uncertainty. (Taussig 1987: 105)

[...]

The narrative of 'savagery' that the colonizer constructs reveals, then, a process of complicity in which the masquerade of terror unveils the 'mask' of the 'savage' as the face of the coloniser.

The account of the three Indians' return to Tierra del Fuego is a pathetic narrative of diasporic third places. The yamanas, like unwanted objects, are taken back to the place they supposedly belong to but are rejected by their own kind and are even incapable of expressing themselves fluently in their mother tongue:

Jemmy walked slowly to meet the party, consisting of his mother, two sisters, and four brothers. The old woman hardly looked at him before she hastened away to secure her canoe and hide her property, all she possessed – a basket containing tinder, firestone, paint, &c, and a bundle of fish. The girls ran off with her without even looking at Jemmy; and the brothers (a man and three boys) stood still, stared, walked up to Jemmy, and all round him, without uttering a word. Animals when they meet show far more animation and anxiety than was displayed at this meeting. Jemmy was evidently much mortified, and to add to his confusion and disappointment, as well as my own, he was unable to talk to his brothers, except by broken sentences, in which English predominated. After a few minutes had elapsed, his elder brother began to talk to him; but although Jemmy understood what was said, he could not reply. York and Fuegia were able to understand some words, but could not or did not choose to speak.

(Vol. II, 209-210)

A year later, the explorers return to find Fuegia and York are a couple and have gone back to their previous habits, while Jemmy, although naked and filthy, has kept his 'English manners' and a certain proficiency in English, which he has successfully taught to members of his family.

Prieto (2003: 83-84) argues that the space Fitz Roy devotes to these characters (Vol. II, 1-16 and 202-227) signals the author's awareness that 'the chronicle contains... the seeds of a true anthropological novel'. Except for this narrative sequence and a whole chapter devoted to the Malvinas/Falkland Islands to justify their appropriation by the English, the rest of the three volumes is mostly a factual report on the navigation, the hazards encountered and the discoveries made.

In volume III, Dr Darwin joins the expedition. A witness to the denouement of the acculturation story, he will consider it above all 'a narrative universe' (Prieto 2003: 84).

DARWIN, Charles (1839). <i>Journal and Remarks</i> . London: Henry Colburn. ----- (1845 / 2001) <i>The Voyage of the Beagle</i> . New York: Modern Library.
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Charles Darwin joined the Beagle's expedition round the world as a naturalist in December 1831. His *Journal and Remarks* (London, 1839), the diary notes written between 1832 and 1834, form a series with Humboldt's and Falkner's scientific observations, but the scientific discourse of the naturalist is blended with the aesthetic component and personal perceptions introduced by Humboldt and amplified by Head, whom Darwin quotes .

When the expedition finished, Darwin rewrote his diary drafts and had them published, but the draft itself remained unpublished until 1933, when Nora Barlow, his granddaughter, edited it and had it published as the *Diary of the Voyage of the H.M.S. Beagle*, popularly known and republished as *The Voyage of the Beagle*, a classic of travel literature.

Darwin's itinerary in Argentina and Chile was unusual: he visited Buenos Aires, but not as the port of departure. Besides, his voyage on the *Beagle* allowed him to add to the usual locations in travel literature the exploration of the Patagonian coast, the Malvinas/Falkland islands and Tierra del Fuego.

He explored the countryside of the province of Buenos Aires at the time Rosas was waging systematic campaigns against the Indians. He expresses his gratitude to the government in Buenos Aires in a footnote in chapter IV and is positively impressed by Rosas

General Rosas intimated a wish to see me; a circumstance which I was afterwards very glad of. He is a man of extraordinary character, and has a most predominant influence in the country, which it seems he will use to its prosperity and advancement. (65)

He describes him in conversation as 'enthusiastic, sensible and very grave' (66) and writes anecdotes which add to the mythical quality of the General as a law-imposing 'perfect horseman' who inspires the sort of loyalty that will prompt Gauchos to kill for him.

His perceptions of the Gaucho (39, 139, 139), the Pampa Indians (59, 90-91), the city (108) and the surrounding countryside reinforce the motifs and stereotypes of previous accounts, such as the gory sight of the slaughterhouses area (the 'corral') (108-109), the huge thistles as hiding places for robbers (111). But on contemplating the pampa from a distance, his scientific gaze demystifies aesthetic contemplation and the traditional ocean metaphor:

The country is really level. Scarcely anything which travelers have written about its extreme flatness, can be considered an exaggeration. Yet I could never find a spot where, by slowly turning round, objects were not seen at greater distances in some directions than in others, and this manifestly proves inequality in the plain. At sea, a person's eye being six feet above the surface of the water, his horizon is two lines and four-fifths distant. In like manner, the more level the plain, the more nearly does the horizon approach within these narrow limits; and this, in my opinion,

entirely destroys the grandeur which one would have imagined that a vast level plain would have possessed. (113-114)

Darwin's gaze projects on to the landscape the virtues of British presence. Sailing down the Paraná River, he admires the soil around it, 'perhaps unequalled in fertility in any part of the world' and the potential of 'so grand a channel of communication' (125). Shocked at how little these riches are exploited, he reinforces the belief in the civilising mission of British colonization: 'Nothing more convenient for an expansionist project than a vision which presents nature as a condition prior to civilisation, waiting for the forces of progress to cultivate it'. (Livon-Grosman 2003: 95, my translation).

How different would have been the aspect of this river if English colonists had by good fortune first sailed up at the Plata! What noble town would have occupied its shores! (125)

In Patagonia, he describes the landscape as if he was its first observer,

... as if the recognition of the primeval nature of its geology made him its most ancient witness. [...]

Already in the XVIIIth century, biology and geology become, among European naturalists, the thread that leads from scientific observation to aesthetic sublimation. Geology, in particular, acquires a metonymic value as the discipline through which the foundations of the new American nations are read: that one which could find the most ancient precedent, that is, the closest to the origin. [...]

American nature, whether as compensation or as a feature of originality, becomes a substitute for European culture. ... The *Voyage* articulates this double gaze in such an intertwined way that it is hard to separate the continuity between the biological and the cultural. (Livon-Grosman 2003: 72-73, my translation)

Darwin's scientific gaze seems interested in everything, and everything is classifiable, including the native populations. If these were nations to be registered on a map when Falkner lived among them, in Darwin they are part of a collection whose purpose is the search for the origin. Livon-Grosman links this taxonomic attitude to the idea of the museum as an extension of the

British Empire and claims that the main achievement of the *Voyage* 'is not so much the formulation of a theory of evolution, so many times anticipated by his contemporaries, but the collection of data that will allow him to demonstrate it.' (2003: 89, my translation).

On bringing Fuegia, Jemmy and York back to their homeland, Darwin compares a tribe of eastern Fuegians to animals, showing them as inferior within the evolutionary chain of beings:

It was interesting to watch the conduct of the savages, when we landed, towards Jemmy Button: they immediately perceived the difference between him and ourselves. [...] Jemmy understood very little of their language, and was, moreover, thoroughly ashamed of his countrymen. [...] One of our arms being bared, they expressed the liveliest surprise and admiration at its whiteness, just in the same way in which I have seen the ourangoutang do at the Zoological Gardens. (2001: 186)

These poor wretches were stunted in their growth, their hideous faces bedaubed with white paint, their skins filthy and greasy, their hair entangled, their voices discordant, and their gestures violent. Viewing such men, **one can hardly make one's self believe that they are fellow-creatures**, and inhabitants of the same world. It is a common subject of conjecture **what pleasure in life some of the lower animals can enjoy**: how much more reasonably **the same question may be asked with respect to these barbarians!** (2001: 190, my emphasis)

The 'other' is defined as savage, primitive –a barbarian. The white 'seeing-man' can be an observer thanks to the evolutionary distance that separates him from the object of his observations. Besides, like Fitz Roy (Cf. p. 128), Darwin is convinced that cannibalism is a practice that famine leads Fuegians to:

The different tribes when at war are cannibals. From the concurrent, but quite independent evidence of the boy taken by Mr. Low, and of Jemmy Button, it is certainly true, that when pressed in winter by hunger, they kill and devour their old women before they kill their dogs: the boy, being asked by Mr. Low why they did this, answered, "Doggies catch otters, old women no." This boy described the manner in which they are killed by being held over smoke and thus choked; he imitated their screams as a joke, and described the parts of their bodies which are considered

best to eat. Horrid as such a death by the hands of their friends and relatives must be, the fears of the old women, when hunger begins to press, are more painful to think of; we are told that they then often run away into the mountains, but that they are pursued by the men and brought back to the slaughter-house at their own firesides! (191)

This degree of informative detail contrasts sharply with a statement Darwin makes a few pages earlier:

Although all three could both speak and understand a good deal of English, it was singularly difficult to obtain much information from them, concerning the habits of their countrymen. (185)

Even if we believe that Darwin was able to gather enough information from his informants to draw the conclusions above, we can apply Clifford' concept of 'travelling cultures' (Cf. p. 13) to both scientist and informers and remember the limitations of 'translation':

I want to insist on the crucial *traduttore* in the *tradittore*, the lack of an "equals" sign, the reality of what's missed and distorted in the very act of understanding, appreciating, describing.  
(Clifford 1997: 42)

Livon-Grosman argues that Fitz Roy and Darwin are told what they want to hear. He claims that there is a reversal in power relations which the English explorers fail to see:

It is perfectly plausible to think that after living over a year in England, the yámanas have understood the cultural expectations of their captors. These Fuegians are the ones who have managed to get their observes to pass from a state of control to one of subordination without their even realizing. The anxiety over the search for the origin, so overvalued by European travellers, forces them to assume that this antecedent will be the confirmation, as Darwin states, of the opposition nature-culture. The acknowledgement of the richness of the yámana language, or of the imagination of their yámana fellow travelers, would have implied the risk of subverting this hierarchy between the civilised and the savage without which the access to the experience of the origin would be lost. (2003: 82, my translation)

In this interpretation, the Fuegians adopt what Gee (1999: 12) has called 'situated identities' (enacted and recognised according to the setting). Livon-

Grosman's argument may be supported by Darwin's own observations on the Fuegians' language:

The language of these people, according to our notions, scarcely deserves to be called articulate. Captain Cook has compared it to a man clearing his throat, but certainly no European ever cleared his throat with so many hoarse, guttural and clicking sounds. (183)

In contrast, Esteban Lucas Bridges (1948: 34) will praise the lexical complexity of the Yahgan (or yámana) language on the basis of the English-Yahgan dictionary that his father compiled (Cf. p. 229) and Darwin himself admits that 'they could repeat with perfect correctness each word in any sentence we addressed them and they remembered words for some time' (183-184). It seems that the Fuegians' linguistic ability may have allowed them to reverse the power relationship between explorer and informer.

Even if the Indians belong together with the animals, they do not receive the same degree of attention as the fauna in Darwin's scientific descriptions. However, the naturalist seems deeply impressed by the inhospitable condition these tribes live in and wonders what may have drawn them to those miserable latitudes (192-193) and to adapt to the climate to the point of being naked in the sleet (190). He is also concerned about the reinsertion of the three Fuegians into their communities (201-203).

Our Fuegians, though they had been only three years with civilised men, would I am sure, have been glad to have retained their new habits; but this was obviously impossible. I fear it is more than doubtful, whether their visit will have been of any use to them. (201)

Darwin's approach to the explored territory, in Prieto's view (2003: 104), closes the series of travel writing on the region, confirming it as a genre, and opens a new tradition, a 'canon' to which writers like Lucas Bridges, Musters, Theroux and Hudson will want to belong by citing or arguing with

Darwin's views. 'In Darwin's description of Patagonia, it is not only a question of physical occupation of territory, but of a symbolic appropriation which will take place when the theory of evolution is formulated.' (Livon-Grosman 2003: 97, my translation). Retrospectively, this theory will reaffirm the importance of the *Voyage* as a reference for any travellers visiting Patagonia.

Darwin himself will return mentally to Patagonia at the end of his description of his circumnavigation trip, as the region that has impressed him most in his quest for self-construction:

Why then, and the case is not peculiar to myself, have these arid wastes taken so firm a hold on my memory? Why have not the still more level, the greener and more fertile pampas, which are serviceable to mankind, produced an equal impression? [...] The plains of Patagonia are boundless, for they are scarcely passable, and hence unknown: they bear the stamp of having lasted, as they are now, for ages, and there appears no limit to their duration through future time.

Of individual objects, perhaps nothing is more certain to create astonishment than the first sight in his native haunt of a barbarian – of man in his lowest and most savage state. (450)

In his exaltation, the Malvinas/Falkland Islands meet Australia, the theory of evolution meets the White Man's Burden:

From seeing the present state, it is impossible not to look forward with high expectations to the future progress on nearly an entire hemisphere. The march of improvement, consequent on the introduction of Christianity throughout the South Sea, probably stands by itself in the records of history. It is the more striking when we remember that only sixty years since, Cook... could foresee no prospect of a change. Yet these changes have now been effected by the philanthropic spirit of the British nation.

[...] To hoist the British flag, seems to draw with it as a certain consequence, wealth prosperity and civilization. (451- 452)

KING, John Anthony (1846). *Twenty four years in the Argentine Republic....*

King was born in New York in 1803, arrived in Buenos Aires in 1817, joined the army under the 'caudillos' López and Ramírez and went back to the USA in 1841. The text, first published in New York by Appleton in 1846 and then by Longman in London in the same year, has a historical focus: his direct experience of the civil war between unitarians y federalists, Rosas' terror and the Anglo/French blockade (Cf. p. 64). He claims his own work is a very important contribution from an informant in a privileged position, but the text was written not by his own hand but by Thomas R. Whitney, on the basis of 'a verbal outline of facts, made to the writer by the narrator himself' (4).

There is a manifest necessity for information respecting the Argentine Republic at the present time, not merely for the satisfaction of the public mind, but also for the use of statesmen both in this country and Europe; and as it is not probable that another person lives (save a native of the country) who has been so long and familiarly identified with the public affairs of that country as myself, I have determined to lay before the world, as nearly as possible, a true statement of occurrences which took place during my residence there. (5)

As regards his perception of the native population, while he finds the Mataco Indians ('Mattaca' in his spelling) 'a wondering and indolent race' (115), his view of the Chiriguano is almost idyllic:

... living almost in the primitive simplicity of nature, inoffensive and happy; their home a seeming paradise, and their wants but few, and easily gratified. Their women were perfectly beautiful, with skins clear and transparent, softened only by the color of their clime; their features oval, and without the high cheek-bone of the North American Indians; their graceful forms, which had never known the restraint of stay or bodice; their lithe and active limbs; and, above all, an air of chaste and modest purity, commanded alike the admiration and respect of our whole company. (88)

His stay among them gives him time to rest and voice his weariness of life and his longing for his mother country in romantic terms:

I reflected that at that moment I was at least one thousand five hundred miles from the ocean. In the desolation of my soul I could

have wept; but amid that desolation, bright pictures of home and kindred cast a light across the gloom, the cheering spirit of hope looked with a smile upon my heart, and, resting upon my sword, I exclaimed, involuntarily, in the English language, "My God ! shall I ever see the sea again! My God! shall I ever see my country!" (91)

His dramatic account of how the Matacos unexpectedly turn against them because one of the soldiers has wronged a girl is highly melodramatic. In fact, passages full of dialogue and emotional tension can be found several times along the narrative.

He closes the book with a description of Buenos Aires and the Pampas, where the 'grass often grows to the height of eight feet, so as almost to conceal both horse and rider, and is frequently so heavy as to present a serious obstacle to one's progress' (318). But rather than the description of landscape, the focus of King's work is the horror of civil war, and the power of the caudillos, especially Rosas:

Rosas is a man of most acute and subtle perception. He seems to understand the weakness of man's nature, and has made it his study to play upon that weakness in whatever form it might present itself. In his intercourse with the representatives of foreign powers, he has contrived to persuade them that his course is justifiable, or if he has not convinced them to that effect, he has so managed as to prevent their interference with the affairs of his internal policy. He tells them that the people are not fitted for self-government; that nothing but the bloody and iron rule can sway them. (314)

Myers (1987: 77) identifies another text, published by the Parish Robertson brothers in 1843 (Cf.p. 59), which blames the Rosas régime for the sad change for the worse suffered by the 'delightful city' of Buenos Aires (102): *Letters on South America; Comprising Travels on the Banks of the Parana and the Rio de la Plata, Vol. III*. However, this view is not shared by William Mac Cann, one of the best known British visitors in the Rosas years.

Mac CANN, W. (1853). *Two Thousand Miles on Horseback through the Argentine Provinces*.

William Mac Cann (Cf. p. 65) was a British merchant who arrived in Buenos Aires in 1842 and is believed to have returned to Britain in 1845, at the time of the Anglo-French blockade. In his pamphlet *The Present Position of Affairs in the River Plate* (1845) he expressed his views against Anglo-French intervention and supported Rosas's dictatorship arguing that the region was not yet ready for self government (Cf. King's views on Rosas on the previous page). He returned to Buenos Aires in 1847 with the intention to explore the country on horseback and report on the different regions, as there were worries concerning the safety of British immigrants during the blockade. This text is the narrative account of this trip.

Mac Cann is initially unable to do what he had planned as a result of the political circumstances (Cf. p. 65), but he meets Rosas and gets his support. He is very positively impressed by Rosas and his daughter, Manuelita:

On the occasion of my first visit to his residence, I found assembled under the colonnade and on the lawn, several persons, of both sexes, waiting for the despatch of business. For all who appealed to General Rosas in an extra-judicial character, his daughter Doña Manuelita was the universal intercessor. Questions of moment to individuals, involving confiscation, banishment, and even death, were thus placed in her hands, as the last hope of the unfortunate. In the excellence of her disposition, and its benign influence over her father, she was to him, in many respects, what the Empress Josephine was to Napoleon. (II: 2)

Mac Cann buys good horses and, accompanied by his friend José Mears and 'Don Pepe' Taylor, he travels all the way to the frontier with the Indians. He describes in detail the life of both Indian and Gauchos, though most of the time he stays in estancias owned by British landowners.

He finds the Indians filthy:

The plains all around are studded with Indian huts, or toldos, and, in my rides amongst them, I was struck with their extreme filth and nastiness: the carcasses of horses were lying about in various states of putrefaction. (I: 110)

And he also finds the suburbs of Buenos Aires equally filthy:

... villas and gardens, showing signs of wealth and taste, adjoin miserable mud-built huts; at one moment the air is laden with balmy perfumes, presently the sense is sickened by the effluvia from a putrid carcass.

Such repulsive incongruities are common to all the suburbs; and it is painful to contemplate the decay and neglect, the filth and squalor, that offend the senses in every direction. At no very remote period, the suburbs were the residences of the more wealthy and respectable classes; but now their villas and pleasure-grounds are fast going to ruin (I: 174)

His view of the Gaucho is that of an uncivilised being:

The term Gaucho is one offensive to the mass of the people, being understood to mean a person who has no local habitation, but lives a nomadic life; therefore in speaking of the poorer classes I avoid that term. (I: 154)

'Native' is related to 'inferior' in the sense of 'backward, uncivilised'

...the country is in a transition state, and ... native usages must eventually, give place to those of a superior character. Already the European costume is becoming very general, and wherever it is seen in the plains, worn by a native, it at once indicates the change in his ideas. No respectable foreigner should ever think of assuming the native costume; the better class of natives do not take as a compliment his doing so: quite the contrary. (157)

Mac Cann also travelled to Santa Fe, Córdoba, Entre Ríos, in the company of William Barton. As indicated in the title, he covered two thousand miles on horseback and his description of landscape and people, as well of historical events in volume II, is a compendium of information (geography, roads, habits, attitudes, flora and fauna, etc.) and personal views. He seems to have returned to England after Rosas's fall.

MACKINNON, Lauchlan Bellingham (1848). *Steam Warfare in the Paraná, A Narrative Of Operations, By The Combined Squadrons Of England And France, In Forcing A Passage Up That River.*

Lieutenant Mackinnon was an officer from Southampton who participated in the Anglo-French blockade against Rosas. While trying to open the Paraná River to British and French commerce, he wrote a detailed description of the Paraná and Uruguay rivers and the areas around them:

As we advanced, the scenery was very much varied; sometimes between islands so close together, that we shot birds and animals on each shore. These islands are plentifully interspersed with the date palm, which had a most beautiful appearance; and, when we drew out near the main land, the stream widened considerably. We passed either bold, bluff barrancas, over which nothing was visible, and whence we might easily have been picked off by musketry; or a gently sloping, green pasture down to the river's margin, dotted with horned cattle, horses, and sometimes ostriches and deer. Clumps of trees were interspersed, and beautifully grouped by the hand of Nature. Sometimes, for a short distance, a dense forest of large timber-trees impeded the view. A high sand-bank then intervened, with a belt (about fifty yards broad) of trees and shrubs, where I often stopped to rest the men, and then surveyed the country, which was mainly characterized by undulating, pasture land, interspersed with coppices and clumps of trees, stretching inland as far as the eye could reach, and completely covered by animal life in great variety, like a very extensive and well-kept park in England.

**The only thing wanting to make this the most enchanting scene in the world, was the presence of civilized man; but, alas! the brute creation alone enjoyed the terrestrial paradise.** (61- 62, my emphasis)

Although most of the book focuses on the military operations (Cf. Gillespie, pp. 92-93) and the hard lives of soldiers, Mackinnon does not miss any opportunity to express his impressions of the landscape ('the terrestrial paradise') and, like many of his predecessors, his sense of waste, his awareness of the necessity of a civilising mission: 'The only thing wanting to make this the most enchanting scene in the world, was the presence of civilized man'.

#### 4.2.i.b Common denominators

In spite of their differences, the texts identified above can be said to be in dialogue with one another, either explicitly or through our own reading of the construction of the other in the corpus as a whole. In this respect, the texts show recurrent features in their representation of landscape, original inhabitants and Gauchos:

- *An ambivalent reaction to the unfamiliar in nature*: it is either contemplated with awe due to its 'excess' or rejected due to its 'lack' of what is considered beautiful (that is, familiar, within a European idea of landscape).
- *The reinforcement of the Euro-myth* (Pratt 1992: 141): 'Civilisation' is synonymous with European standards: as with the landscape, the unfamiliar, native or autochthonous is considered primitive, savage. On the basis of this ideology, unexploited resources are presented as evidence of indolence and neglect, which legitimates European interventionism. The disregard for private property is considered backward or criminal, rather than a different set of cultural standards. On the other hand, the appropriation of Indian land or the forced employment of Gauchos is seen as a sign of progress, even by those writers who justify Indian rebellion against settlement or admire Gaucho independence.
- *The Indian as savage other*: while Falkner could still perceive the Indians in Patagonia as nations in 1774, 19th century texts either show them on the verge of extinction or as savages on whose submission or extermination there depends the development of civilization in the area.

Hordes of Indian hunting other hordes for slaves and for food; Europeans hunting them also or kidnapping them, for labour and slavery, during three hundred years; the trade carried on for the

latter object multiplying the wars among them, and arming one against the other by turns; the ravages of new diseases, and the irresistible temptation of ardent spirits; all this appears sufficient for at least a strong presumption, that many of their tribes are now entirely extinct, and such as are still existing greatly thinned. (Schidtmeyer 113-114)

With Darwin, they become lower beings in the evolution of the human species.

- *The voiceless subaltern* (Spivak 1999): while Falkner's text can be considered 'ventriloquist' (Livon-Grosman 2003: 63) in its expression of Indian culture, Indians have no voice in other texts -only nature, of which they are a part, speaks. When they are cited as informants, as in Fitz Roy and Darwin, it is through the writer's interpretation of what they say in English and how it fits within their own preconceived ideas of their culture. The transculturation process is overlooked, and self and other are considered 'pure' examples of a culture – a civilised and a primitive one respectively. Similarly, Gauchos are idealised or shown as inferior beings, but in neither case can their voices be heard.

When acculturation to European norms is perceived, it is considered a sign of progress rather than a loss of identity. The influence of the local population upon the visitor is hardly ever mentioned, only the sublime landscape seems to have an effect upon the 'seeing man'.

- *Antihispanism*: following Foucault, Spivak (1999 in Ashcroft et al 2006: 31) considers the 'project to constitute the colonial subject as other' an example of 'ideological epistemic violence'. The operation in this case is doubly violent and hypocritical, as British and American travel writers criticise Spanish colonial practices, and often present themselves as liberators from them. However, they are ready to redefine Indian and Gauchos as farm

hands and mine workers and call this a sign of progress without questioning the imperialistic nature of such operations, based on the presupposition of white superiority (where 'Englishness' makes them superior to other white cultures) and the supposed benefits of British/American commercial hegemony.

Said (1993) has taught us that colonialism and imperialism are supported by discursal formations which construct images or stereotypes of otherness which serve the purposes of the construction of an Occidental identity and legitimate Western hegemony over the rest of the planet. Within this Occidental discourse, early Anglo-Argentine travel writing has contributed to creating the representation of the River Plate as rich a territory in need of British /American intervention not only due to the inferiority of its native and mestizo population but so as to overcome the stigma of Catholic Spanish rule.

#### **4.2.ii Settlers**

As opposed to those who visited what would later become Argentina in search of commercial profits or fossils, whose gaze was that of an outsider, those who emigrated to the region had a different story to tell: one of hardships, of culture clash, of a mission against barbarism which often ended in the loss of property or lives. Very few of them left their impressions in writing, as most early immigrants were rural workers who did not think of themselves as writers. The texts below, therefore, offer highly informative samples of an insider's view.

GRIERSON, W. (1825/2000). 'The Voyage of the Symmetry'. In Stewart, I.A.D.(ed.) (2000). <i>From Caledonia to the Pampas</i> .
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The complete title of this text is: *The Voyage of the Symmetry, From a Journal, of the Voyage of the ship Symmetry of Scarborough, Capt. Smith Master, from Leith to Buenos Aires, Between May 20<sup>th</sup>, And Aug, 11<sup>th</sup> inclusive, 1825, by Mr. Grierson, one of the Passengers, for the satisfaction of his friends in Scotland.* It is a day-by-day journal of the voyage that brought to the River Plate the first Scottish settlers to start the Monte Grande colony in the province of Buenos Aires (Cf. p. 59). Of great historical interest, it allows the reader to get an insider's view of what it was like to travel for months to an uncertain future across stormy seas.

Grierson' account, which consists mostly of factual notes, is, however, interspersed with poetic outbursts such as the following, written one day after seeing land, which reinforces the stereotype of the hard-working immigrant, often in binary opposition to the lazy Gaucho or Indian in both travel writing and the early works of Argentine literature (such as Sarmiento's *Facundo*):

30<sup>th</sup> Saturday... Winds of Columbia beat us not from your shore. – We are the sons of liberty. – we come to you because you are free. – we come to hail your emancipation. – we bring you not fetters, slavery, nor Inquisition. – our prowess lies in the muscles of our arms, our weapons are the implements of Ceres; her Seeds are in our Hold; our weather-beaten hands shall adorn your plaits; we will become your sons; our blood will mingle with yours, **and Columbian, and Briton shall have no distinction.** – for, indeed, we are all weary of cross winds, and flashing storms. – (65, my emphasis)

But not all passengers celebrated visions of a future in which 'Columbian, and Briton shall have no distinction'.

TAM O' STIRLING, 'Account of the Voyage of the Symmetry', transcribed from DODDS, J., *Records of the Scottish Settlers*, pp. 24 – 26 and included as Appendix I In Stewart, I.A.D.(ed.) (2000). *From Caledonia to the Pampas.*

En route to Buenos Aires, an unidentified member of the group of Scottish immigrants on board the *Symmetry* (Cf. p. 59 / 147) writes a poetic account of his voyage using the pen name 'Tam'o Stirling'. As the boat gets closer to South America, Tam comments on the speculations among his fellow passengers:

They wondered what people the Argentines were,  
Savage or civilised –colour, and figure,  
And lasses resolved they would droon themselves ere  
They'd gang without claes or be kissed by a nigger.

If Grierson promises to America 'our blood will mingle with yours', Tam O'Strirling seems concerned about miscegenation, which he expresses as the shared fear of female passengers. His ignorance of the demographic features of the land they will be settling in is clear from this stanza, as is the culture shock derived from the incapacity to understand Spanish and make themselves understood:

The *Symmetry* anchored. Boats gathered around them,  
While jabbering foreigners their luggage received,  
The Babel of tongues was enough to confound them,  
but naebody understood Scotch, they perceived.

The passengers had the right to expect to be welcomed by English/Scots speakers, as the colony was supposed to be a highly organised venture (Cf. p. 59). However, the government's promises were not kept and economic difficulties derived from the war with Brazil and the fall of the Unitarian government (Cf. p. 60) conspired against the colony's prosperity. During the fighting between Rosas's Federalists and Lavalle's Unitarian troops, the countryside around the Monte Grande colony was occupied by both factions and colonists escaped to the city or to other parts of the province. According to Dodds (1897: 54),

This was a terrible time for the colonists, a veritable 'reign of terror' when they were plundered at will and chased from their homes, some of them being murdered on their own thresholds by the marauding parties of Rosas and Lavalle alike.

Dodds also retells in pathetic detail the murder of John Robson (1987: 55-56) based on the testimony of Jane Robson (née Rodger). Jane was a child at the time John was killed. Years later she married Hugh, one of John's brothers, and the event is narrated in her memoir *Faith Hard Tried* (80-81), more than ten years after Dodds referred to it.

#### 4.2.iii FOCUS TEXT

ROBSON, Jane (n/d). *Faith Hard Tried: the Memoir of Jane Robson*. In Stewart, Iain A. D. (ed.) (2000) *From Caledonia to the Pampas*.

In his introduction to the publication of Grierson's journal and the autobiography of Jane Rotgers (aka Robson), who arrived on the *Symmetry* as a young girl with her sister and parents, Iain A.D. Stewart (2000: 25) writes:

Although it is a memoir composed in retrospect rather than an ongoing diary, this text provides equally significant insights into the settlers' existence. [...] Early in the twentieth century, towards the end of a long and eventful life and as one of the last remaining members of the party which had sailed from Leith over eighty years earlier, Jane recounted her past to an interested acquaintance, one M.R. Powell, who committed her experiences to paper for the benefit of future generations of the family.

This memoir remained unpublished until Ian A.D. Stewart edited it in 2000. Like William Henry Hudson's *Far Away and Long Ago*, perhaps the best known work within the Anglo-Argentine 'canon' (Cf. pp.176-178), it is a memoir written many years after the events retold (after her 89<sup>th</sup> birthday in 1908) and therefore mediated by a subjectivity whose views are those that memory has built. But unlike Hudson's, it is a text put together in Argentina rather than in an English-speaking country – and the author is a woman.

In fact, Jane Robson is the only female author in the series this section closes, although there will be others in later periods. Her account is generated at some point in the early twentieth century, when female narratives are no longer so unusual in the Argentine context, but it is still significant that the person who actually pens the memoir should be somebody else, 'a M.R. Powell'. This is something that Iain A.D. Stewart simply mentions in the introduction to his 2000 publication, as external to the text itself, and when we encounter the text, it appears as a Jane's first-person narration throughout.

Whilst the process by which this text has survived its originator – through the filter of an amateur 'editor' – means that we must remain cautious of accepting it as Jane Robson's verbatim account, there is no reason to suspect that it offers anything other than an authentic rendition of her life story.

(Stewart 200:25)

However, in the manuscript that Jane Robson's family gave me in 2002, not knowing that their relative's memoirs had been published in the UK, the text opens with a paragraph leaving actual authorship in the editor's hands, so that Jane becomes an informant, someone who is in some way being interviewed, and the story is therefore framed by the narrator/writer:

James Rotgers and his wife with three children, left Leith by ss Symmetry May 2<sup>nd</sup> 1825 with 250 others, arriving in Buenos Aires on August 19<sup>th</sup> and later formed a Scotch colony at a place called Monte Grande. There has already been a record of these colonists given. I need only confine myself to the one in whose personal experiences I am deeply interested, it being a very noble, as well as an extremely hard life; it will be best for her (Jane Rotgers) to tell her own story.

There is no transition between this opening paragraph and the next, in which the voice supposedly changes to Jane Rotgers (aka Robson) herself: 'I was a little girl of five years old when I came to South America'. Having established the frame, the frame narrator, believed to be a male journalist from *The*

*Standard*,<sup>8</sup> reappears in the very last paragraph, also omitted in the published version, without even a blank to differentiate the frame from the account itself. However, recurrent features of orality, such as ‘I think’ (81), ‘Now I come to about the year 1853’ (96) or ‘I will now tell you about it’ (97), as well as short, simple sentences, remind us throughout that we are reading the transcription of memories retold out loud.

Finally, like Thomas Whitney in King’s text (Cf. pp. 136-138), Powell takes responsibility for the narrative and its faults:

I have come to the end of my poor effort dear Mrs. Robson, to write your most interesting and eventful life’s history, and must ask your leniency for the very inferior way I have accomplished it, and trust you will excuse and forgive all the faults. It has been a labour of love. I could only wish the writing of it had been in abler hands than,

Yours affectionately  
(Signed) M.R.Powell

Mary Louise Pratt highlights the gendered nature of the ‘wholly male, heroic world’ of the travellers she labels as the ‘capitalist vanguard’ (1992:155). She contrasts their work with the travel narratives of Flora Tristan (*Peregrinations of a Pariah*, 1838) and Maria Callcott Graham (*Voyage to Brazil and Journal of a Residence in Chile*, 1824). As opposed to the adventures and explorations in the open air of male travellers, who often sleep with no roof over their heads,

For both Graham and Tristan, the indoor world is the seat of the self; both privilege their houses and above all their private rooms as refuges and sources of well-being. Graham describes her house in detail, including the views from the doors and windows: initially Chile will be seen from within. [...] It must be underscored, however, that the indoor, private world here does not mean family or domestic life, but in fact their absence: it is the site above all of

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<sup>8</sup> The family believe the memoirs were originally published by the paper and, according to Eileen Noble, who is writing a book on her great-great-great grandmother, Powell was a male journalist [personal communication]

solitude, the private place in which the lone subjectivity collects itself, creates itself in order to sally forth into the world.

(Pratt 1992: 159)

In Jane Robson's memoir, on the other hand, the inside is clearly associated with family life, but the outside is a very strong presence, associated with hard work in the country or with the dangers of living in the days of the caudillos (Cf. p. 60), dangers which will at some point enter the safe haven of the indoor world:

At this time [1828 – 1829] the country was more unsettled. Rosas was outside, and Lavalle in, Buenos Aires. There were band of Indians wandering about who were Rosas's men. Lavalle's soldiers were also wandering about, stealing, murdering and causing the greatest alarm. It was well named 'the reign of terror'. [...]

It was a common thing for the men (those wandering ruffians) to come to the house and insist on searching it, pretending they were looking for firearms, and then they would steal anything they could lay their hands on. The climax came one day when Father and Mr. G. were away. We had an old peon, who had been a sailor and had lost his arm in one of the many fights and brawls with the Portuguese, I think. He was such a good, faithful old fellow, devoted to Mother and us children. He saw a party of men making for our house so he ran to the door and met them. One of the party dismounted, and drawing his sword commenced threatening and striking the peon. Mother rushed forward and the soldier sheathed his sword, but instead drew his gun and levelled it at her. She, in stepping back to avoid him, fell. In an instant, our good dog 'Stout' jumped over to protect her, and stood growling and showing his teeth. The brute of a soldier slashed at him with his sword, cutting him to the backbone in three places. The dear old dog still stood his ground though the blood was pouring off him and on to my mother. I then helped to drag Mother up. At this moment, Mr. S., hearing the noise, came flying in and the men turned their attention to him. He tried to keep their attention occupied until a band of Lavalle's soldiers which he had seen coming, could arrive, but the men sitting on their horses outside saw them also, and, knowing that they would be taken prisoner, gave a shout of warning. They were all on their horses in an instant and galloped off as hard as their horses could go. (80 – 81)

[...]

At last the revolution came to an end and Rosas was in power. People began to return to the camp and their homes, and our parents decided to go also. They were feeling sad and anxious, as they did not know if they would find anything left of their home.

Alas, there was little indeed left. Everything that would burn had gone, and there was nothing left but ashes.  
We now had to start our life afresh, and very up-hill work it was.  
(83)

All through this hard life, Jane can be seen as hard-working (she starts earning money by baby-sitting at the age of five) and often taking upon her shoulders what a man would do, including fighting:

I worked as perhaps no woman has ever done – I even killed animals for our meat. (93)

I grasped D's pistol with my left hand and with my elbow in his chest and my foot on his horse's side (he had a small animal) I had complete power, as my hand was as strong as his. (101)

She presents herself as a heroic character, capable of great sacrifices, never giving up and always supported by her faith (thus the title *Faith Hard Tried*). Another omission from the manuscript in the 2000 publication is the epigraph, which reinforces the idea of a pious life of self-sacrifice anticipated in the title:

Blessed is the soul that trusts its God  
And feels within its utmost course,  
Has fought life's battle through and through,  
And defied misfortune's angry blasts,  
With steady aim, not to leave,  
A blot upon their name.

While living in San Vicente, 'Jean' had her fortune told:

The fortune teller said, 'Could I open before you the book of life, the first look at it would kill you. You have a very hard life before you, such a life as few have experienced, and you will feel at times that you cannot come out successfully in the end'. I oft thought of the man's words as they proved true. (79)

This picture of the immigrant settler as self-denying, industrious and honest is a recurrent motif in the official political discourse of Argentina of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, as is, in contrast, 'the idle disposition of the typical Argentinian' (Stewart 35) who is represented by the 'Gaucho vago' (the 'idle Gaucho').

In 1843 we came to 'Los Sauces'... where we had 21,000 sheep on thirds and also a large dairy. [...] I had to work night and day, for at night there were the animals to look after and collect, housework, sewing and washing to do, for I had no woman to help me. We had, of course, peones for the outside work, but they were so untrustworthy and would go off on a drinking bout or amuse themselves in their own fashion and were so much trouble to look after, that they were worse than useless. (93)

The destructive power of a 'shock of bad air', for example, which is a clear exaggeration without scientific grounding,

... serves to attribute a dimension of mysterious, unseen power to the Argentine environment, thus boosting the implicit pioneer myth that pervades Jane's story and casts the settlers' enterprise as an heroic crusade against a conspiracy of unfriendly locals and hostile natural forces.

(Stewart 2000: 27)

In Jane Robson's descriptions, her family in particular and the Scottish community in general appear in opposition above all to the violent Gauchos of the caudillos' parties, but also to the Italian and Spanish immigrants, whose culture is presented as very different from that of the Scots, and to dishonest people of every origin. The text opens with a distinction between self and other, where the other is dishonest:

*I was a little girl of four years old when I came to South America, and can only very faintly remember the voyage, which to my young mind seemed endless. My father, soon after he arrived, finding that things were not as had been presented to him, decided to strike out for himself and went to Cañuelas. At that time, Rivadavia was president and the country was in the most unsettled state. I remember when we had settled in our new quarters, Father started by buying a milk cow which promptly returned to its previous owner some distance across the camp. Father got it back, but the same thing happened again and on each occasion he had to buy it over again, or at any rate pay something, such was the dishonesty of those among whom we lived. (75)*

The theft of horses by passing soldiers, the misappropriation of property by creoles, Irish and Scots alike, several forms of cheating... are all obstacles to be overcome with dignity and faith. Jane often thanks God and is known to

have been one of the people involved in the creation of the Presbyterian church in Chascomús, in the province of Buenos Aires. She presents herself as helpful and charitable, and the family look after seven orphan boys, whom she claims could otherwise have been subjected to slavery, which if fact had been abolished in 1813.

She also shows her courage to defend fair play and see justice done. She is ready to fight for female rights when she persuades a doctor at the British Hospital in Buenos Aires to take a female patient against the institution's protocol, which seems to have set an important precedent in the prestigious hospital which still exists today (110).

In what way does this kind of Anglo-Argentine writing express identity in the 'contact zone'? As explained on page 48, Mary Louise Pratt defines the 'contact zone' as

the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict.

(1992: 6)

Livon-Grosman criticises Pratt's notion, claiming that, though well meaning in its denunciation, it ends up achieving the opposite effect, 'the polarised representation of the parties. As if to emphasise the actively harmful aspect of colonial influence it was necessary to highlight the limitations of the victim' (2003: 52, my translation). Instead, he proposes to 'approach travel literature as the product of an exchange of unpredictable scope' (2003: 53, my translation).

The contact zone which Jane Robson describes is definitely more complex than a simple victim-victimiser binary, but, in my view, Pratt does not seem to imply the reductionist view Livon-Grosman criticises:

By using the term 'contact', I aim to foreground the interactive, improvisational dimensions of colonial encounters so easily forgotten or suppressed by diffusionist accounts of conquest and domination. A 'contact' perspective emphasises how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other.

(Pratt 2003: 7)

Jane Robson's narrative clearly shows people in the contact zone, but the power relationships are fluid, very often based on physical violence or the ownership of horses, or on the privilege of being foreign and therefore exempt from joining the army. Presenting the settlers as victims of the violent natives, the narrative never thematises the displacement of Indians and Gauchos whose lands were being occupied by foreign farmers. In a clear instance of 'othering' (Cf. p. 47), most of the narrative separates the English-speaking Scots from other immigrants and natives, highlighting their differences rather than forms of collaboration. When the latter is referred to, it is usually to show solidarity on the part of the Robsons.

Eighty years after the arrival of the settlers, the text evidences how little the Scottish community has blended with others and how it has gained independence and prestige:

It is now 1908. On St. Andrew's day in the afternoon we had tea and games and prizes for the children at the Manse. In the evening we had a large dance at the Robson Hall, which was greatly enjoyed by us all. In the summer of this year we had a service at our church, with the Holy Communion, followed by a ceremony of unveiling two memorial tablets – one to the memory of 'Padre' Smith and the other to Mr. Ferguson, the minister who preceded our present one. Two of the oldest members of the Scottish community unveiled them, Mr. Brown was one and I was the other. (114)

This picture of domestic life could be describing a place in Scotland, with 'tea and games and prizes for the children', a much more prosperous one than the one the settlers left or arrived at (there's a dance at Robson Hall). If faith has been 'hard tried', virtue has been rewarded. The only trace of transculturation is the use of the word 'Padre' to refer to Father Smith.

Looking back on her past in Argentina more than eighty years after her arrival, Jane Robson retells her experiences in Argentina, where she will end her days, 'for the benefit of future generations of the family'. With sixty great-grandchildren, she can certainly think of a public who will appreciate this recording of their origins. But although the 'future generations of the family' are Argentinian or Anglo-Argentine, the memoirs are written in English and will be made public by the narrator/writer in *The Standard*, the newspaper published in English. Jane Robson has kept her language though she has lived in a Spanish-speaking environment for decades and the text provides no information about her level of bilingualism.

Language is a central issue when defining the identity of the Anglo-Argentine community. English, considered the mother tongue by later generations of Anglo-Argentines thanks to the conservative work of churches and schools, has been a clear identity banner. Even though it can be inferred that the early Scottish community did not communicate in English with people like peons and soldiers, Jane Robson's language shows very few traces of 'how subjects are constituted in and by their relations to each other' (Pratt 2003:7, Cf. p. 154). Besides, there is little evidence of the development of an 'Anglo-

Argentine dialect', except for some lexical features: the word 'camp' to refer to an estancia (ranch) and autochthonous words such as 'peones', 'cardos', 'alcalde'. The lack of glossing in the text seems to suggest that the words have been incorporated to the narrator's vocabulary, but the words 'peons' and 'thistles' appear as well, almost interchangeably, though not close enough to the referent in Spanish to be of help to an English reader. Jane Robson seems to be addressing people like her listener/editor: Anglo-Argentines who can stick to English or spice it with touches of local colour. This opens up questions of isolationism and transculturation that are related to the prestigious social positioning of the English-speaking community in Argentina in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and later years, as the discussion of texts produced at the time will show.

## 5. The Golden Age of Anglo-Argentine writing

This chapter presents an overview of the literary production of Anglo-Argentines and visitors from the date of the National Constitution (1853), through the years of national organization and the community's prosperity, up to the First World War. Works are grouped into series, weaving an intertextual dialogue with one another and with the works referred to in chapter 4. The construction of self and other discussed in early works in the previous chapter is traced through these series.

### 5.1 The Anglo-Argentine 'canon'

In 1951, Enrique Espinoza published a short book whose title identifies the three names traditionally considered as forming the 'canon' of Anglo-Argentine literature: *Tres clásicos ingleses de La Pampa: F.B. Head, William Henry Hudson, R.B. Cunninghame Graham*. The first of these 'English classics of the Pampa' has been discussed in chapter 4 among travel writers (Cf. pp. 104-109). This section refers to the work of the other two classics, appropriated by Argentine academia as examples of the 'gauchesca', defined in chapter 3, pp. 67-68.

The *gauchesca* literature, from its founder Bartolomé Hidalgo (1788-1822) to his best disciple José Hernández (1834-1886), provided a literary and symbolic mythology that was appropriate as Argentine guiding fictions from the last decades of the nineteenth century to date. 'Seldom appreciated in life, the gaucho became the embodiment of Argentine character as the nation's thinkers and leaders reconstructed the past to suit twentieth-century political needs' (Slatta 1983: 180).

(Murray 2003: 83-84)

By joining the 'gauchesca', the writers discussed below legitimate the presence of the 'gringo' (Cf. p. 64) in the emblematic source of Argentina's wealth: the estancias (Cf. p. 69).

### **5.1.i Robert Bontine Cunninghame Graham**

Cunninghame Graham was born in London to Scottish parents on 24 May, 1852. He spent most of his childhood in Scotland and was greatly influenced by his maternal grandmother, a Spanish noblewoman who spoke to him in her mother tongue, so that he became bilingual.

He was educated in England and Belgium before he moved to Argentina in 1870 to make his fortune as a cattle rancher. Although his ranching venture failed, he became known as a great adventurer and 'Gaucho gringo' who loved horses and was affectionately called 'Don Roberto'. His adventures in the River Plate ended in 1878 and he was not to return until the First World War, on a mission to buy horses for the government (Cf. 'Bopicuá' in *Brought Forward*, 1916).

The outbreak of the war in 1914 gave him the ... opportunity to go back to Argentina which he found greatly changed since the halcyon days of his youth. The triple-headed monster, Civilisation/Commerce/Progress, in all the manifestations that he detested – telephones, telegraph wires, fenced trails, machinery – had almost rendered the Gaucho extinct and the pampa no more than 'a cultivated prairie cut into squares by barbed wire fences, riddled with railways and with the very sky shaped into patterns by the crossing lines of telegraphs' ('Un Angelito').

(Walker 1992: 188-189)

He also travelled in Morocco dressed as a Turkish sheikh, prospected for gold in Spain, is said to have befriended Buffalo Bill in Texas and to have taught fencing in Mexico City. Much of this may not be true, as he created his own legend by recording his adventures in books and articles that made him

famous. He was a very prolific writer who was in contact with and respected by many of the men of letters of his time, such as Joseph Conrad and Bernard Shaw.

Graham also embarked on a political career. He advocated progressive reforms in Parliament and was imprisoned during the demonstration on Bloody Sunday, 1887. Graham had a strong belief in Scottish home rule. He played an active part in the establishment of the National Party of Scotland (NPS) in 1928 and was elected the first president of the Scottish National Party in 1934.

His writing includes history, biography, poetry, essays, politics, travel and seventeen collections of short stories. His great-niece and biographer, Jean, Lady Polwarth, published a collection of his short stories (or sketches) entitled *Beattock for Moffatt and the Best of Cunninghame Graham* (1979) and Alexander Maitland added his selection under the title *Tales of Horsemen* (1981). Several titles have been reprinted in the last 30 years, including *A Vanished Arcadia* (1901), which was the inspiration for the film *The Mission*. Professor John Walker published collections of Cunninghame Graham's *South American Sketches* (1978), *Scottish Sketches* (1982) and *North American Sketches* (1986). Of the thirty sketches in the first collection, sixteen deal with Argentina. More recently, the Long Riders Guild Press have reprinted his equestrian travel works.

Cunninghame Graham rode daily even in his 80s.

At the age of eighty-four, he decided to make the final, cyclical pilgrimage to his first love Argentina. In his last book *Mirages* he had narrated the story of the Englishman 'Charlie the Gaucho' who had returned to the Pampas to die with his boots on. As if impelled by his own creation, Graham set out for Buenos Aires on January 18 1936, carrying two bags of oats for the horses of his friend and biographer Aimé F. Tschiffely, whose famous horse trip from

Buenos Aires to New York Graham had described in his sketch 'Tschiffely's Ride' (*Written in Sand*).

(Walker 1992: 189)

He died from pneumonia on March 20, 1936 in the Plaza Hotel in Buenos Aires, after a visit to the birthplace of his friend William Henry Hudson. Tschiffely's horses Mancha and Gato followed the hearse, led by two gauchos. (Walker 1992: 189).

According to Norma Sacks (1980: 68), 'Graham was a romantic and costumbrist, who filled his sketches with so many Spanish words that a glossary is needed'. In fact, those words may be obscure to Spanish speakers who are not acquainted with the River Plate dialect and with the lexical field connected with horses and Gaucho life. The titles of his Argentine sketches show the wide range of topics and interests related to Gauchesque 'costumbrismo' and Argentine life. These are just a few examples:

#### **Argentine settings**

- 'La Pulpería' (*Thirteen Stories*, pp. 165-175)
- 'La Pampa' (*Charity*, pp. 227-239)
- 'San Andrés' (*Charity*, pp. 116-132)
- 'The Pass of the River' (*A Hatchment*, pp. 114-130)
- 'Bopicuá' (*Brought Forward*, pp. 185-205)

#### **Gauchos, Indians and Captives**

- 'Las Bolas' (which Walker (1992: 187) considers a literary essay rather than a sketch) (*The Ipané*, pp. 84-97)
- 'The Captive' (*Hope*, pp. 120-143)
- 'Los Indios' (*A Hatchment*, pp. 19-33)

## Horses

- ‘Calvary’ (perhaps with a pun on ‘cavalry’, about a wild chestnut colt taken from Ibicuy in Entre Ríos, Argentina, to serve as a cab horse in London) (*Thirteen Stories*, pp. 191-200)
- ‘Los Seguidores’ (*Success*, pp. 20-39)
- ‘El Rodeo’ (*A Hatchment*, pp. 50-68)
- ‘Los Pingos’ (*Brought Forward*, 11-29)
- ‘Tschiffely’s Ride’ (about the ride from Buenos Aires to New York referred to above) (*Writ in Sand*, pp. 39-77)

## Legends

- ‘The Gualichu Tree’ (*Success*, pp. 10-19)

## Tango

- ‘El Tango Argentino’ (*Brought Forward*, pp. 81-96)

Graham’s depiction of the Argentine landscape does not differ from that of travel writers. ‘All grass and sky, and sky and grass, and still more grass and sky’ is the description that opens ‘La Pampa’ (*Charity*: 227) and he refers to the pampa as an ‘ocean of tall grass’ in ‘El Rodeo’ (*A Hatchment*: 50). His description of the delta through which horses are transported to and from Buenos Aires is filled with lexis which connotes the kind of excess found in Humboldt’s descriptions of the American landscape:

Just where the River Plate, split by a **hundred islands**, forms a sort of delta, a tract of marshy land in Entre Ríos, known as the Rincones of the Ibicuy, spreads out flat, cut by a **thousand channels**, heavily timbered, shut in upon the landward side by a **long range of hills of dazzling sand**, and buried **everywhere** in waving **masses of tall grass**. [...]

A land of vegetation so **intense** as to **bedwarf** mankind almost as absolutely as we bedwarf ourselves with our machinery in a manufacturing town.

(‘Cavalry’, *Thirteen Stories*, 191-192, my emphasis)

The binary ‘nature - industry’ is clearly established in the quotation above, and throughout Graham’s sketches nature is the positive term. ‘Progress’ is often seen as a loss, a fall from the primitive perfection of nature.

In ‘Los Indios’, he describes the horrors of Indian incursions, the risk of being taken captive, the savagery on Indian carnival celebrations, and states that

No one who has not lived upon the southern Pampa in the days when a staunch horse was of more value in time of trouble than all the prayers of all the good men of the world, can know how constantly the fear of Indians was ever present in men’s minds.

(*A Hatchment*: 19)

However, he can look back with nostalgia on the days when the white man had not yet pushed the original inhabitants towards the Andes and into oblivion:

No longer, on a journey, will they, as it appeared without a cause, suddenly strike their hands upon their mouths and yell, and then when asked the reason, answer, “Huinca, he foolish; Auca do that because first see the sierra,” as in the days of yore.

Round the Gualichu tree, no longer bands from north and south will meet, and whilst within its influence forbear to fight; even refrain from stealing a fine horse during the time they celebrate their medicine dance. In separating, no Indian now will tear a piece from off his poncho and stick it on a thorn; the tree was a Chafiar if I remember right.

(*A Hatchment*: 31)

This nostalgia for the days gone by makes him miss the Buenos Aires he used to know when he was young in ‘A Retrospect’. Like most travellers before him, he describes the disappointing welcome given to newcomers by the old muddy harbour in Buenos Aires and presents an insider’s view of the old city, from dances to the price of meat, from its churches to its brothels (‘Few towns could have been better kept supplied than was the city of good airs, with raw material’ (47), where the ‘raw material’ are the girls of every nationality at the

'quilombos'). He looks back on that city and misses it, in spite of the advantages of progress:

I know that it is great and prosperous, wealthy beyond the dreams of avarice; that the great liners all tie up at stone-built docks, and passengers step from them into their motor-cars. All this I know, and I am glad, for *anche io fú pittore*, that is, I used to ride along the streets of the old Buenos Aires generally upon a little *doradillo*, that I had, with the great silver spurs just hanging off my heels when I rode up to Claraz's Hotel, after delivering a troop of cattle at the *saladero* on the outskirts of the town. (*A Hatchment*: 48-49)

The reader feels he is being addressed by someone who has first-hand knowledge of the landscape and the culture, who is acquainted with the geography, the language, the myths, and has appropriated them. This is the case when he describes the *gualichu* tree in the story of that name, a tree that the original peoples considered sacred:

You in the future who, starting from Bahía Blanca pass the Romero Grande, leave the Cabeza de Buey on the right hand, and at the Río Colorado exchange the grassy Pampa for the stony southern plains... coming to the tree neither cut branches from it to light your fire, or fasten horses to its trunk to rub the bark. Remember that it has been cathedral, church, town-hall, and centre of a religion and the lives of men now passed away; and, in remembering, reflect that from Bahía Blanca to El Carmen, it was once the solitary living thing which reared its head above the grass and the low thorny scrub. So let it stand upon its stony ridge, just where the Sierra de la Ventana fades out of sight, hard by the second well, right in the middle of the *travesia* – a solitary natural landmark if naught else, which once bore fruit ripened in the imagination of a wild race of men, who at the least had for their virtue constancy of faith, not shaken by unanswered prayer; a tombstone, set up by accident or nature, to mark the passing of light riding bands upon their journey towards Trapalanda; passing or passed; but all so silently, that their unshod horses' feet have scarcely left a trail upon the grass.

(*Success*: 18-19)

The proper nouns are landmarks that show the narrator is familiar with the geography, and his mention of 'Trapalanda' – described in 'Los Indios' (*A Hatchment*: 31) as 'the mysterious city in which no Christian ever breathes his

horse’– shows he is acquainted with the beliefs of the original inhabitants. Instead of presenting a defamiliarising perspective, his gaze is that of a local rather than a visitor. His use of code-switching without glossing (as in ‘in the middle of the travesía’), a feature that will become a common denominator among Anglo-Argentines, adds to this effect. He also uses the Anglo-Argentine word ‘camp’ when he refers to the country, to the estancias. In Pratt’s terms, Graham’s writing shows instances of transculturation (Cf. p. 48).

The emblematic example of transculturation is the ‘Gaucho gringo’ the writer himself was, embodied in the characters of Charlie the Gaucho (*Mirage*: 11-45) and, above all, Facón Grande (Big Knife) and Facón Chico (Small Knife), ‘based on the lives of Henry Edwards and John Taylor, settlers at the *Colonia Inglesa de Sauce Grande*, near Bahía Blanca’ (Graham-Yooll 1999: 205). The sketch ‘Facón Grande’ (*Mirage*: 169-182) is set in the days when the Southwestern frontier kept advancing against the original inhabitants. Colonists could lose their property and their lives in the ‘Indian raids’.

Still there were some who, neither desperate nor outcasts, resolutely took up land and settled down. Of such the most remarkable was a tall Englishman whose name, I think, was Hawker, but better known as “Facón Grande”, from the sword bayonet that he wore stuck through his belt and sticking out upon both sides. ... Tall, dark and wiry, his hair that he wore long and ragged beard gave him the look of a stage desperado, but in reality he was a brave and prudent man who knew quite well the danger he lived in, but was determined to hang on, for he had faith in the country’s future where he had made his home.

As he had lived for many years upon the frontier, he dressed in Gaucho fashion, with loose black merino trousers tucked into high boots. A white pleated shirt always left open at the neck, a short alpaca jacket, with a broad belt fastened by what was called a “rastra”, composed of silver coins that served as buttons, and an Indian poncho, woven in red and black, completed what he called his “indumentary”.

He spoke a strange phonetic Spanish, blameless of grammar and full of local words, as easily as English. A short half-league away, his cousin lived, one Ferguson, known to the Gauchos as “Facón

Chico”, from the smaller size of the yet formidable knife he carried. No greater contrast could be found than that between the cousins. “Facón Chico”, was about middle height with sandy hair and a short well-cropped beard. His face was freckled and his hands, mottled like a trout, had once been white, of that unhealthy-looking hue that exposure to the sun often imparts to red-headed or to sandy-coloured men. For all his quiet appearance and meek ways till roused, he was perhaps the bolder and more daring of the two. The Gauchos said, although he looked like an archangel who had lost its wings, that in an Indian skirmish his porcelain coloured eyes shot fire and he became a perfect devil, the highest compliment in their vocabulary.

Though he had lived for twenty years in the republic, he hardly knew more than a few coherent sentences in Spanish, and those so infamously pronounced that few could understand him.

Curiously enough he spoke Pehuelche fairly fluently, for he had lived some years with an Indian woman, who, when she went back to the Tolderia, had left him a pledge of their love, or what you call it, a boy the Gaucho humorists had christened Cortaplumas [pen knife], to the delight, not only of his father, but the whole neighbourhood.

The boy grew up amongst the peons neither exactly tame nor wild. Like other boys born in that outside “camp” upon the frontiers he ran about barefooted, lassoed the dogs and cats, and brought down birds with little “bolas” that he manufactured by himself out of old strops of hide and knuckle-bones. By the age of six or seven he, like all the other boys, was a good rider, climbing up on the saddle, using the horse’s knees as a step-ladder for his bare little toes.  
(170-173)

The frontier is an ever-changing limit in the encounters between Gauchos and original inhabitants, where Gauchos can be Englishmen whose children are ‘mestizos’ (half-breeds), where the aboriginal languages, the languages brought from Europe and the peculiar Spanish of the River Plate all coexist. Graham describes life in the ‘contact zone’, full of conflicts that men face with a lance or a knife (facón) so that throat-cutting becomes a literary motif.

“...I, Tio Cabrera, known also as el Cordero, tell you I know how to play the violin (a euphemism on the south pampas for cutting throats). In Rosas’ time, Viva el General, I was his right-hand man, and have dispatched many a Unitario dog either to Trapalanda or to hell.”

(La Pulpería, *Thirteen Stories*: 174)

And through it all identities are built in contact with the other, identities which are fluid and permeable as the frontier, where one can escape into the *tolderías* or be dragged into them, where one can cross a river that leaves the Pampas behind and face the challenge of the Patagonian desert. Identities which are the product of processes of transculturation that construct cultural hybrids like Graham himself.

William Henry Hudson dedicated his *El Ombú and Other Stories* (Cf. pp. 172-175) to Graham:

To my friend  
R.S. Cunninghame Graham  
(‘Singularísimo escritor inglés’)  
[Extraordinary English writer]  
Who has lived with and knows (even to the marrow as they would themselves say) the horsemen of the Pampas, and who alone of European writers has rendered something of the vanishing colour of that remote life.

That an Argentine-born English writer should call Graham, a Scot, an ‘English’ writer in Spanish is evidence enough of the difficulty in using national labels when discussing the production and identity of these travelling writers.

### 5.1.ii William Henry Hudson

Hudson is a true Anglo-Argentine in the narrow and most usual sense of the term, as he was born in Argentina to Anglo-American parents. He was born on August 4, 1841, near Quilmes, province of Buenos Aires, where his parents had an *estancia*<sup>9</sup>. In *Far Away and Long Ago*, the memoir of his life in Argentina which he wrote in London in his old age (Cf. pp.176-178), Hudson tells us that the *estancia* was

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<sup>9</sup> The house where Hudson was born and the *estancia* can be visited today, turned into a museum and ecological park: ‘Casa Museo y Parque Ecológico Hudson’. Only three ombú trees remain. A nearby town and railway station are named after the writer.

quaintly named Los Veinte y cinco (*sic*) Ombúes. Which means “The Twenty-five Ombú Trees,” there being just twenty-five of these indigenous trees – gigantic in size, and standing wide apart in a row about 400 yards long.

[...]

before other trees had been planted the antiquated and grand-looking ombú had its uses; it served as a gigantic landmark to the traveler on the great monotonous plains, and also afforded refreshing shade to man and horse in summer... Our trees were about a century old and very large, and, as they stood on an elevation, they could easily be seen at a distance of ten miles. (4-5)

When William was five years old, the Hudsons moved to ‘Las Acacias’, an estancia near Chascomús, about 100 km away from his birthplace. Ten years later, his father was forced to sell the land and they went back to Quilmes, where they opened a store and were always on the verge of bankruptcy.

In spite of being weakened by a bout of typhus when he was 14 years old and by rheumatic fever a few years later, Hudson spent much time alone wandering the pampas, observing the wildlife. He developed the powers of observation and passion for wildlife that turned him into a naturalist, professional ornithologist and bird collector. He travelled on horseback to Brazil, Uruguay and Patagonia, collecting specimens for museums. He wrote accounts of his travels and observations and gained the respect of many naturalists, including Darwin, for his work.

In 1874<sup>10</sup>, Hudson emigrated to London, where he married Emily Wingrave, who was 20 years his senior. They ran a boarding house in Bayswater. He lived many hard years in poverty, but with the help of his friend, Robert B. Cunninghame Graham (Cf. pp.158-166), whom Hudson met in 1890 and with whom he continued a fruitful correspondence until he died, he started working on his journals and recording his South American experiences. As a result,

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<sup>10</sup> According to Walker, as other biographers think he left for the UK on his return from Patagonia in 1872 or even earlier.

from 1885 until his death in 1922, he published about thirty works which have been classified as ornithological studies, including *Argentine Ornithology* (1888-1899) and *The Naturalist in La Plata* (1892), autobiography, essays, romances, memoirs and travel books.

His many books on ornithology procured Hudson a state pension in 1901, a year after he became a British subject. He died in London on August 18, 1922.

The works by Hudson which are relevant to this study are:

- (1885/1911) *The Purple Land That England Lost*
- (1893) *Idle Days in Patagonia*
- (1902) *El Ombú and Other Stories*
- (1918 / 1991) *Far Away and Long Ago - A Childhood in Argentina*
- (1921) *A Traveller in Little Things*

*The Purple Land that England Lost* is the first book he published. Although it is about the Banda Oriental (modern Uruguay), it has been included in our corpus because of generic and thematic considerations. Jorge Luis Borges (1952: 112) described it as perhaps the best work of gaucho literature<sup>11</sup>. The novel tells the story of Richard Lamb, a young Englishman who elopes with a teenage Argentine girl, Paquita, to Montevideo, Uruguay. Lamb leaves his young wife with a relative to find work for himself in eastern Uruguay. He soon becomes involved in adventures with the Uruguayan Gauchos and in romances with local women until he and Paquita are forced to go back to Buenos Aires to escape from government persecution.

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<sup>11</sup> 'Quizá ninguna de las obras de la literatura gauchesca aventaje a *The Purple Land*.

Borges (1957: 112) sees the novel as the story of Richard Lamb's gradual 'acriollamiento' (creolisation)<sup>12</sup>. Early in the novel, Richard despises the disorganised political system and lack of law and order of the Banda Oriental and expresses what can be considered an imperialist manifesto:

"... Oh, for a thousand young men of Devon and Somerset here with me, every one of them with a brain on fire with thoughts like mine! What a glorious deed would be done for humanity! What a mighty cheer we would raise for the glory of the old England that is passing away! Blood would flow in yon streets as it never flowed before, or, I should say, as it only flowed in them once, and that was when they were swept clean by British bayonets. And afterwards there would be peace, and the grass would be greener and the flowers brighter for that crimson shower.

"Is it not then bitter as wormwood and gall to think that over these domes and towers beneath my feet, no longer than half a century ago, fluttered the holy cross of St. George! For never was there a holier crusade undertaken, never a nobler conquest planned, than that which had for its object the wresting this fair country (*sic*) from unworthy hands, to make it for all time part of the mighty English kingdom. What would it have been now – this bright, winterless land, and this city commanding the entrance to the greatest river in the world? And to think that it was won for England, not treacherously, or bought with gold, but in the old Saxon fashion with hard blows, and climbing over heaps of slain defenders; and after it was thus won, to think that it was lost – will it be believed? – not fighting, but yielded up without a stroke by craven wretches unworthy of the name of Britons! Here, sitting alone on this mountain, my face burns like fire when I think of it – this glorious opportunity lost for ever! 'We offer you your laws, your religion, and property under the protection of the British Government,' loftily proclaimed the invaders – Generals Beresford, Achmuty, Whitelocke, and their companions; and presently, after suffering one reverse, they (or one of them) lost heart and exchanged the country they had drenched in blood, and had conquered, for a couple of thousand British soldiers made prisoners in Buenos Ayres across the water; then, getting into their ships once more, they sailed away from the Plata for ever! This transaction, which must have made the bones of our Viking ancestors rattle with indignation in their graves, was forgotten later on when we seized the rich Falklands.. [...] We left the sunny mainland to capture the desolate haunt of seals and penguins; and now let all those who in this quarter of the globe aspire to live under that 'British Protection' of which Achmuty preached so loudly at the gates of yon capital, transport themselves to those

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<sup>12</sup> 'El venturoso acriollamiento de Lamb'

lonely antarctic islands to listen to the thunder of the waves on the grey shores and shiver in the bleak winds that blow from the frozen south!" (12-14)

However, according to Ezequiel Martínez Estrada (1951) quoted by Borges (1952), the final pages of the novel contain 'the supreme justification of America compared with Western civilisation':

It is not an exclusively British characteristic to regard the people of other nationalities with a certain amount of contempt, but with us, perhaps, the feeling is stronger than with others, or else expressed with less reserve. Let me now at last rid myself of this error [...] I cannot believe that if this country had been conquered and re-colonised by England, and all that is crooked in it made straight according to our notions, my intercourse with the people would have had the wild, delightful flavour I have found in it. And if that distinctive flavour cannot be had along with the material prosperity resulting from Anglo-Saxon energy, I must breathe the wish that this land may never know such prosperity. [...]

We do not live by bread alone, and British occupation does not give to the heart all the things for which it craves. [...] Even in our ultra-civilised condition at home we do periodically escape back to nature; and, breathing the fresh mountain air and gazing over vast expanses of ocean and land, we find that she is still very much to us. It is something more than these bodily sensations we experience when first mingling with our fellow-creatures, where all men are absolutely free and equal as here. [...] Here the lord of many leagues of land and of herds unnumbered sits down to talk with the hired shepherd, a poor, bare-footed fellow in his smoky rancho, and no class or caste difference divides them, no consciousness of their widely different positions chills the warm current of sympathy between two human hearts. How refreshing it is to meet with this perfect freedom of intercourse, tempered only by that innate courtesy and native grace of manner peculiar to Spanish Americans! [...] If this absolute equality is inconsistent with perfect political order, I for one should grieve to see such order established. (333-335)

It is hard to read that there is 'absolute equality' between 'the lord of many leagues of land and of herds unnumbered' and 'the hired shepherd' without considering such a statement an idealised generalisation, one which veils the connection between the political unrest the speaker does resent and social inequality. The text presents a romantic notion of primitivism which inverts the

polarity of the binary 'civilisation vs. barbarism' and replaces it with 'American nature vs. European civilisation', where 'nature' is the positive term, as in Cunninghame Graham (Cf. p. 162).

As Hudson lived in Argentina for thirty three years but spent the rest of his life in London, where he published all his works in English, it is a matter of controversy whether he should be considered an Argentine writer or not – a debate which is at the core of the Anglo-Argentine corpus. Walker (1983) quotes Alicia Jurado, who, 'trying to write a counterbalance to the excessive claims of Martínez Estrada' and other critics, 'tends to play down the Argentine elements in Hudson's work'. She considers Hudson's longing for the pampas 'from the London mists' a legend:

Although it is true that Hudson expressed nostalgia for his native land many times, it is also true that he did not come back to our country because he did not want to do so, ...he was proud to call himself an Englishman –words published in one of his books– and loved passionately the English countryside to which he dedicated his best works.

(Jurado 11 in Walker 1983: 336, my translation)

Martínez Estrada's eulogistic study of Hudson's work is called *El mundo maravilloso de Guillermo Enrique Hudson*. Walker notices 'Hudson is even given the Spanish form of his name which he was never called'. Although this can be considered an idealistic appropriation of Hudson's name and works to incorporate them to the Argentine literary canon, according to Walker (1983:334), Martínez Estrada and other critics 'rightly stress Hudson's position within the framework of gauchesque *costumbrismo*... as a painter of pampa expression and a guardian of gauchesque values'. Cunninghame Graham, in his introduction to the 1931 Dent edition of *The Purple Land* writes that 'he was at

heart an old-time gaucho of the plains' (ix). But According to Graham-Yooll, based on an article by Carlos Leumann<sup>13</sup>,

Hudson was unheard of in Argentina. The intellectual community in Buenos Aires learned of his existence when Rabindranath Tagore visited the city in 1924 and asked to be told about Hudson.  
(1999: 194)

In the words of Matilde Sánchez (1985: 3), Hudson's texts question 'the categories of nationality and belongingness' as well as the possibility of creating 'a realistic effect in a certain language –with its structures, its character, its sounds and cosmovision– when its referent happened in another, and worse still long ago'. It is my contention that Hudson's texts have been appropriated by Argentine literary academia precisely because of the complex nature of his cultural affiliation, which in many ways resembles the multiple identities of the Argentinian to this very day: a set of allegiances in tension, torn between the native land, its values, beauty and traditions and the model of a European ('first world') civilisation which always remains an unreachable aim. Hudson's Anglo-Argentine works are an example of a literature of third places (Cf. pp.16-17), neither Argentine nor English but hybrid in its allegiances and representations of self and other.

The collection *El Ombú and Other Stories*, with its blend of Argentine legends, myths and superstition, presents frontier narratives in which hybridity is foregrounded. The collection includes 'El Ombu', 'Story of a Piebald Horse' (originally included with *The Purple Land*), 'El Niño Diablo' and 'Marta Riquelme'. The American edition (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1916) also

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<sup>13</sup> La Prensa, Buenos Aires, August 1941

includes a story written in 1883, 'Pelino Viera's Confession' and 'Tecla and the Little Men', a rhymed legend.

Hamilton (1946: 60) considers 'El Ombú' and 'Marta Riquelme' 'perfect examples of the long short story. Tragedy of the most stark and terrible kind dominates them'. This tragedy, expressed in English in a European narrative genre, is unmistakably South American in spirit.

'El Ombú' opens with an ominous note:

They say that sorrow and at last ruin comes upon the house on whose roof the shadow of the ombú tree falls; and on that house which now is not, the shadow of this tree came every summer day when the sun was low. They say, too, that those who sit much in the ombú shade become crazed. Perhaps, sir, the bone of my skull is thicker than in most men, since I have been accustomed to sit there all my life, and though now an old man I have not yet lost my reason. (595-596)

Cunninghame Graham also refers to this superstition in his sketch 'La pampa':

There were few landmarks, but in the Southern and middle districts a dark ombú, standing beside some lone tapera [poor house] and whose shade fell on some rancho or estancia, although the proverb said, "The house shall never prosper upon whose roof is thrown the shade of the ombú. (*Charity*, 1912: 238)

Past middle age at the time of writing and looking back on his childhood among ombú trees from distant London, Hudson could be telling the story in his own voice, but the narrator is an old gaucho, Nicandro, and an appendix gives evidence to prove that 'El Ombú' is 'mostly a true story':

The incidents relating to the English invasion of June and July 1807, is (*sic*) told pretty much as I had it from the old gaucho called Nicandro in the narrative. That was in the sixties. The undated notes which I made of my talks with the old man, containing numerous anecdotes of Santos Ugarte and the whole history of El Ombú, were written, I think in 1868 – the year of the great dust storm. (639)

Hudson is then the listener addressed as 'sir', and this allows him to have the defamiliarising gaze he will share with his English readers, one that finds the

events by the lake of Chascomús exotic and extraordinary. However, he creates a narrator whose voice is in many ways that of a Gaucho, though the narrative is in English. Hudson shows first-hand knowledge of the world he describes and uses recurrent features of orality to put the reader in the position of a listener too:

Look, señor, where I am pointing, twenty yards or so from the edge of the shadow of the ombú... It was just there, on the very spot where the yellow flower is, that poor Meliton fell. (608-609)

As is the case with many of Cunningham Graham's sketches, 'El Ombú' is a frontier narrative, one in which black former slaves like Meliton, Gauchos and original inhabitants meet, a world of fortresses advancing into Indian territory, a permeable frontier line where the Gauchos fear Indian incursions and the original peoples fear the advance of white criollos and Gauchos. In Livon-Grosman's words,

... already in the very idea of the frontier there are two sides, a double narrative, a reality order that is different on each side of this dividing line. And each of these confirm other stories which in turn branch off or are cut short and still leave a starting point for the next narrative. They weave a web that, the more it strives to establish a division between the indigenous and the European, as in the case of the narratives of the Conquest of the Desert, the more it reinforces this connection.

(2001: 3, my translation)

'Marta Riquelme', whose setting is Jujuy, in the North-west end of the country, shares this meeting of 'travelling cultures' (Cf. p. 13): the narrator is a Jesuit among indolent Quichua-speaking natives who feels attracted to Marta, a native woman. Though of Indian blood herself, she is a Christian and is captured by Indians when she travels South in search of her husband. The Indian who is 'her owner' treats her so cruelly that when she finally manages to escape and her husband sees how suffering has marred her beauty, he denies

her. The woman, 'overcome with despair' (696) is turned into a bird, the Kakué, who produces a sound the narrator describes as 'a shriek, the most terrible it has ever fallen to the lot of any human being to hear' (682). In his efforts to reject such stories as primitive superstitions, the narrator is as unsuccessful as he is in forgetting Marta. Torn between his religion and his feelings, his learning and the voices of the forest, the Jesuit priest is a man in the 'contact zone', standing in a third place where transculturation is unavoidable:

Day and night I pray for that soul still wondering lost in the wilderness; and no voice rebukes my hope or tells me that my prayer is unlawful. (710)

The legend of the 'Niño Diablo' (the Devil Child) is also a story from the contact zone:

Product of both the gaucho and his half-brother the Indian, later driven to the frontier and eliminated by this very gaucho who was himself to be civilised out of existence by the advance of progress, Niño Diablo reflects the two strains which are fused in the story. Though treating of matters gauchesque, 'Niño Diablo' is not devoid of the Indian side of the pampa expression. The Indian element [...] is manifested in the all-pervading presence and fear of the marauding Indians, their *malones*, their fear-bearing lances, and their bestial celebrations. With a panache equal to Echeverría ('La Cautiva') or his kindred spirit Cunninghame Graham ('The Captive', 'Los Indios') Hudson depicts something of the Indian way of life, also long disappeared.

(Walker 1983: 356)

Hudson also revisits the theme of the captive who crosses the border into a different culture in his fictional account of the legend of the White Indian: 'A Second Story of two Brothers', the only 'Argentine' story in *A Traveller in Little Things* (chapter VI).

But the work that the Argentine canon has made its own in translation is *Far Away and Long Ago* (1918), Hudson's autobiographical memoir about his early life in Argentina,

Written in old age about his childhood, composed in England about Argentina, describing the past in terms of the present, through the miracle of art, Hudson makes a last-ditch effort to unite his two worlds and his two ages, though an artistic fusion, a synthesis that is a deliberate attempt to pull together what was and what is.

(Walker 1983: 372)

The author refers to his native land as 'that strange world where I first saw the light' (4). It is evident that the text is meant for an English reading public for whom such world will be 'strange'. His gaze is that of a man looking back on his early years as he lies in bed for six weeks in London 'feeling weak and depressed', someone who feels 'not properly alive' when 'out of sight of living, growing grass, and out of sound of birds' voices' and finds comfort in reminiscing the days when he was in contact with nature, horse-riding and bird-watching (3). But however nostalgic and idealised the images of memory can be, Hudson looks back on the pampas from London: 'here in England, in the very center and mind of the world, many thousand of miles from my rude wilderness' (311). What must have been familiar in his childhood is now remembered from a standpoint which reinforces the civilisation-barbarism binary and the notion of British superiority (the 'centre of the world' as opposed to the 'rude wilderness') but he is still attracted to what is wild in the land left behind, which he would find very much changed if he was to return:

.. this very absence, this isolation (both geographical and chronological) ... is at the root of his artistry, i.e., aesthetic distancing. Gradually the pampa of his native country becomes a dream land, a fantasy world, so beautiful that he preferred to keep it in his memory rather than return to find it changed by civilization, progress and commerce, the triple-headed monster constantly lambasted by Cunnighame Graham in his sketches

written after his return in 1914 to an Argentina different from the open and free lands he had frequented in the 1870s. It is an interesting coincidence that Hudson was leaving Argentina just as Graham was arriving, and, as one remembers, Hernández was publishing *Martin Fierro*.

(Walker 1983: 336)

Here again, the fact that Hudson writes in English and is published in England puts a distance between his gaze and the far-away pampas – a geographical, temporal and linguistic distancing that allows the writer to approach his object from outside, defamiliarising it the way travel writing does. In his memories of the trip across the pampas from his native estancia to Las Acacias, his perceptions of the flat land echo those of Humboldt and many other travellers (Cf. p. 90):

The undulating country had been left behind; before us and on both sides the land, as far as one could see, was absolutely flat, everywhere green with the winter grass, but flowerless at that season, and with the gleam of water over the whole expanse. It had been a season of great rains, and much of the flat country had been turned into shallow lakes. That was all there was to see, except the herds of cattle and horses and an occasional horseman galloping over the plain, and the sight at long distances of a grove or small plantation of trees, marking the site of an estancia, or sheep and cattle farm, these groves appearing like islands on the sea-like flat country. (18)

But Hudson is not a traveller in the pampas: he is a native of the land who speaks two languages, shares life with both 'English neighbours' and Gaucho children and explores the country as a local, fascinated with the fauna – the personal experience that will allow him to write *El Ombú and Other Stories*. Like Jane Robson (Cf. pp.147-156), he grows up immersed in the political turmoil of the 'caudillo' years, and witnesses the fall of Rosas (Cf. p.66).

He was abhorred by many, perhaps by most; others were on his side even for years after he had vanished from their ken, and among these were most of the English residents of the country, my father among them. (126)

According to Stewart (2000: 19):

In the eyes of the foreign settlers ... Rosas's draconian rule was the single check upon the inherent savageness of the common creole. Hudson, whilst clearly not condoning the worst brutality of the regime, considered Rosas's more heinous deeds the product of either 'sudden fits of passion or petulance', 'a peculiar, sardonic and somewhat primitive sense of humour', or the socio-cultural milieu, the latter resonating the type of environmental determinism prevalent in the ideology of the dictator's liberal opponents (pp. 130-131).

Hudson's ambiguous position is revealed when, in the same chapter whose title refers to Rosas as a 'tyrant' (Chapter VIII: 'The Tyrant's Fall') he describes him as 'certainly the greatest and most interesting of all the South American caudillos' (130). He explains his allegiance in terms of the mystic status Rosas had acquired:

Another thing about Rosas which made me ready to fall in with my father's high opinion of him was the number of stories about him which appealed to my childish imagination. Many of these related to his adventures when he would disguise himself as a person of humble status and prowl about the city by night, especially in the squalid quarters, where he would make the acquaintance of the very poor in their hovels. Most of these stories were probably inventions and need not be told here. (124-127)

John Masefield, English poet Laureate from 1930 until his death in 1967, also presents the governor as a mythical figure in the long poem named after him (1918):

He had mad eyes which glittered and were grim;  
Even as a child men were afraid of him.

...

An old man called the child and touched his hair,  
And watched the wild thing trapping in his eye,  
Then bade the child "Go play", and being gone  
Wept bitter tears in sight of every one.

(I.2-3)

Commenting on the poem, the Argentine critic José Luis Muñoz Azpiri writes:

On examining our reality from Europe, and observing our continent from there, we realise that our country has promoted three myths in

the world of poetry and fiction: one, geographic, the pampa; another, human, the gaucho, and a third, historical: Rosas. He often condenses the three: Rosas is the caudillo and leader of the pampa gauchos. 'Pampa', 'gaucho', 'Rosas' are international concepts.

(Muñoz Azpiri 1970: 8, my translation)

However, Masefield never visited Argentina and had no direct experience of the events he narrates. Hudson seems to have been the source of his interest in Rosas. According to Muñoz Azpiri

In his youth Masefield met Hudson, 'who was loved and admired by his whole generation'. In his autobiographical work, *So Long to Learn*, the poet refers to his friendship with the Argentine writer and how he mesmerised his audience when 'he started to evoke... stories of gauchos and Indians, wild beheadings and captive women who rejected their earlier civilised life in the distant and nostalgic pampa. [...] It is not unlikely that the plot of [the poem 'Rosas'] should have been suggested by Hudson too or derived from conversations with him and memories of the master of life in the pampas'.

(Azpiri 1970: 15, my translation)

The poem tells the story of Camila O'Gorman, a member of the Anglo-Argentine community who eloped with a Catholic priest, Uladislao Gutiérrez. Rosas was advised to make an example of them, as his opponents, exiled in Chile and Montevideo, used this event to accuse Rosas of encouraging lewdness and depravity. Besides, Camila's father asked that his daughter be punished for an 'atrocious act unheard of in the country' (Muñoz Azpiri 1970: 8, my translation). Rosas ordered their imprisonment. Antonino Reyes, in charge of the military garrison, received Rosas's orders to execute them immediately. Reyes sent a message to Manuelita, Rosas's daughter, who has become a historical legend as the only person capable of dissuading her father from committing cruel acts (Cf. Mac Cann on p. 139). But although Manuelita was a friend of Camila's and Reyes informed the governor that the woman was pregnant, it was all in vain.

Hudson also refers to the story in *Far Away and Long Ago*

... some of his [Rosas's] acts were inexplicable, as for instance the public execution in the interests of religion and morality of a charming young lady of good family and her lover, the handsome young priest who had captivated the town with his eloquence. (130-131)

As time went by, the story grew in sentimental overtones to become one of the best known Argentine love stories. In Masfield's poem, the refrain 'Remember those poor lovers' (VIII 104, 106) becomes the motto of the military uprising that finally put an end to the regime and started a new era in Argentine political history.

Masfield also wrote another poem which shows his interest in the 'distant and nostalgic pampa': 'The Daffodil Fields'. The poem is based on an eleventh century story from Iceland, but is set in the pampas.

The background of *gaucho* descriptions could have come from Hudson or Cunninghame Graham. After publication of *A Tarpaulin Muster* (1907) Masfield sent a copy to Cunninghame Graham with the comment, 'In these tales I have imitated everybody, just as, in my other books, I have done my best to imitate yourself'.

(Graham-Yooll, 1999: 195)

It is controversial whether to list both poems with other instances of Anglo-Argentine writing, as Graham-Yooll does (1999: 195). The definition proposed on page 32 does apply in that the poems are works in English on Argentine referents, but they hardly constitute 'a third place where cultures meet'. They do offer possibilities to read interculturally, to see how others see Argentina and to wonder in what way Hudson's work may have helped to romanticise the pampas, and how Cunninghame Graham may have contributed to the 'gauchesca' in English, in a style worth imitating.

## 5.2 Other 'Gauchos gringos'

BULFIN, William (1910 / 1997). *Tales of the Pampas*.

If Hudson and Cunnighame Graham are considered 'classics' in Argentina because of their contribution to the 'gauchesca', it is surprising that the work of William Bulfin on 'camp' life in the pampas should not be listed among Anglo-Argentine works within the gauchesque tradition. This may be related to the fact that, due to his Irish nationalism, Bulfin himself would have rejected the label 'Anglo-Argentine' and would have wanted to be referred to as 'Hiberno-Argentine'. Besides, although his stories are written in English, the unique blend of English, Spanish and Irish in them opens the questions concerning the existence of an Irish-Argentine literature, an Irish Gaucho and Irish Argentina.

Although the discussion of Irish diasporic identity in Argentina is not within the scope of this thesis and is developed by scholars from different ideological perspectives (Izarra 2002, Delaney 2003, Murray 2003 & 2005), it is relevant to consider the construction of self and other in Bulfin's stories.

According to Murray (2003: 84):

By joining *gauchesca*, Irish-Argentine literature contributed to create the myth of the gaucho as a symbol of Argentineness. At the same time, it evolved from the sphere of Britishness to a newly created Irishness. This creation of Irish-Argentine *guiding fictions* can be perceived as an invention of Irish Argentina, a cultural *no space* that was necessary to fill with convenient imagery in order to avoid losing control over the growing Irish-Argentine community. The Irish priests of the Roman Catholic church were primarily responsible for this invention of Irish Argentina.

Most Irish-Argentine writers (María Elena Walsh, Enrique Anderson Imbert, Rodolfo Walsh, Bernardo Carey, Eduardo Carroll, Alfredo Casey, Eduardo Cormick, Juan José Delaney) write in Spanish. Even John Brabazon's

memoirs, *The Customs and Habits of the Country of Buenos Ayres from the year 1845*, were published in translation in 1981 by Eduardo Coghlan and the original manuscript in English remains unpublished. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back* (Cf. pp. 247-258) adds to the corpus a semi-fictional memoir in English, but Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* remain unique in their focus as well as in their use of language.

Born in Derrinlough, County Offaly, in 1864, William Bulfin and his brother Peter emigrated to Argentina in 1884 and stayed in the country for twelve years. Their Uncle, Father Grogan, was the Argentine Provincial of the Passionist Fathers, a Catholic congregation which had a monastery in Carmen de Areco which still stands today. Thanks to their Uncle's connections, the boys were able to get a job in the 'camp', where they could be in contact both with Gauchos and fellow Irishmen, as well as immigrants from other countries. In his spare time, Bulfin started writing stories and articles for a small Irish-owned newspaper, *The Irish Argentine*. According to Susan Wilkinson (1997),

He signed his first article "Cui bono?", meaning "To whose benefit?" The typesetter, for whatever reason, changed the name for "Che buono". The name, with the distinctly Argentine prefix of *che*, denoting affection and comradeship with the person so addressed and the Italian *buono*, meaning "able", "fit", "good", delighted him and he used it all his life, always referring to himself as "Che Buono", rarely as "William Bulfin". (viii - ix)

Bulfin moved to Buenos Aires in 1889 and, as *The Irish Argentine* was no longer published, he started contributing articles to *The Southern Cross*. He became owner and editor, but decided to return to Ireland in 1902, where he travelled about on his bicycle and wrote about his tours for *The United*

*Irishman and Sinn Féin*. The pieces were collected and published under the title *Rambles in Eirinn* (1907) (Delaney 2003: 16).

In 1904 Bulfin returned to Argentina and was made a Knight of St Gregory by Pope Pius X for his work among the Irish community as a defender of the rights of Irish Catholic immigrants. He was also a passionate nationalist and a supporter of the Irish language movement in Ireland. He left for the USA in 1909, where he failed to found a *Sinn Féin* newspaper, and went back to Ireland, where he died in February 1910. *Tales of the Pampas* (whose title coincides with that of Hudson's American edition of *El Ombú and Other Stories*) was published in London that year by T. Fisher Unwin for the series which included other 'exotic' books like *The Ipané*, by Cunninghame Graham. Not always mentioned among his works in reference books, the collection remained inaccessible for many years until Susan Wilkinson edited the bilingual edition published in Buenos Aires in 1997.

According to Delaney (2003: 17)

Bulfin's collection belongs to the same literary tradition of Anglo-Argentine writers such as Cunninghame Graham (1852– 1936) and William Henry Hudson (1841– 1922) but ... he differs from them in his concern for language and strong literary intention.

Though Delaney's concept of 'literary intention' is not clear, the eight stories, all thematically focused on 'camp' life, indeed stand out within the series for their narrative quality. Rather than a set of sketches like Cunninghame Graham's, they are stories with a plot development more like Hudson's in *El Ombú*. But where Hudson retells stories and legends he has been told through different narrators, and even makes sure the reader learns he has not created the stories himself (Cf. p. 173), Bulfin's third-person narrator portrays humorous as well as dramatic situations of camp life where characters come to life though

their dialogues. And it is in those dialogues that the blend of Spanish and Gaelic into the narration in English becomes unique.

The Irish men and women in Bulfin's tales of the pampas are between two cultures, having left one while not yet accepting – even resisting – the other. Their speech is freely and quite unconsciously mixed with an intermingling of Irishisms and Hispanicisms, and Spanish words and expletives which have no precise equivalent in any other language express better what can no longer be expressed in English.

(Wilkinson 1997: xi)

According to Delaney (2003: 18), 'Bulfin was addressing the Irish-Argentine community, whose language was the one the writer was conveying'. Murray disagrees with both Wilkinson and Delaney:

In addition to the effect of Spanish phonetics on the original language spoken by the Irish settlers in Argentina, Wilkinson observes that 'Bulfin delighted in the midlands brogue of his fellow countrymen's speech, and he strove to reproduce it by his pen as it fell upon his ears' (Wilkinson 1997).

Wilkinson does not mention (yet there is a glossary with 'Words of Irish origin' at the end of the English version) that there is an hyperbolic use of Irish (Gaelic) terms artificially mixed with the language of Bulfin's characters: *begor(ra)*, *avick*, *bocaugh*, *oncha*, *pisherogue*, *sarra*, *arrah*, *garrahalya*, *bullabawns*, *thranee*, *smithereen*, and *alannah* are just a few examples of the supposed Gaelic language spoken by Irish settlers before arriving in Argentina. However, according to genealogist Eduardo Coghlan, except for some emigrants from Co. Clare, there were very few cases of his 4,348 emigrants from the Midlands and Co. Wexford who spoke Gaelic. Adding Gaelic to the English and Spanish linguistic mix depicted in *Tales of the Pampas* was intentionally arranged by Bulfin to give the impression that the emigrants were genuine Celtic-Irish, not English.

(Murray 2003: 72)

There is here evidence of ideological agency on the part of the writer that goes beyond local colour, or Irish Gauchos' 'costumbrismo'. In a two-fold process of identity construction, the text shows Irish immigrants as Celtic rather than Anglo-Saxon, and at the same time acknowledges hybridisation but foregrounds Irish isolation from both natives and other immigrants. Colonised

and in search of differentiation from the English in that Ireland that has become an 'imaginary homeland'<sup>14</sup>, the Irish of the diaspora are colonisers in the pampas. According to Laura Izarra (2002: 6). Bulfin's 'narratives show how encounters of cultures encode practices of accommodation and resistance to host countries', much though he may show his empathy with the Gaucho (as in 'Campeando') or with the Italians and Spaniards cruelly criticised by the Gauchos themselves (like Tavalonghi and 'El High Life').

In the last story of the collection, 'The Course of True Love', the narrator starts by describing the Irish who have emigrated to Buenos Aires 'camps':

Exile has, of course, modified some of their idiosyncrasies and accentuated others. The wilderness has taught them some of its mysteries, has sharpened some of their senses and faculties that would in other conditions of life have remained comparatively dull; has, to some extent, increased their natural sensitiveness and deprived them of some of their spirituality, as well as taken the corners and angles off their Celtic mysticism. Spanish phrases and idioms have inflected the English which they habitually use; but the brogue of Leinster and Munster has remained intact. Spanish and Creole customs have, in a greater or less degree, insensibly woven themselves into their life; but they are unwilling to admit this, and their struggle to preserve the traditions of the motherland is constant and earnest. (136)

In fact, the whole story deals with the question of match-making and encouraging intermarriage within the community. But it is in 'Campeando' that the attitude towards natives is made explicit.

'Campeando' is the third story in a sequence whose protagonist is the Gaucho Castro, who defeats the alcalde (sheriff) Barragán at a horse race and becomes famous all over the region. In the first story in the sequence, 'Castro Telleth of Tavalonghi's Horse', he is described thus:

Castro was typical of his class—a gaucho from head to heel and in every part of his body. He was still under thirty years of age, but

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<sup>14</sup> As in Salman Rushdie's essay of that title, 1982.

had already made a name for himself in his on way. A good-looking fellow despite his swarthy skin, white-toothed, slim, somewhat bow-legged while on the ground, but a living and superb picture when on horseback – such was Castro, the *capataz* or foreman of the cattle herding, my companion and immediate superior. What more about him? A good deal, but let his character grow upon you as it did on me. Mount, if you like, and come with us. (71)

In ‘Campeando’, the narrator, who, unlike the characters, uses standard English, can be identified with the author as in all the other tales. He shows his admiration for the *capataz* and tries to learn from him while they go from *estancia* to *estancia* in search of fifty five cows that have escaped from theirs.

In Bulfin's logic, both the *gauchos* and the Irish shared similar circumstances. The spaces colonised by the English and the Spanish belonged to the Irish and the *gauchos* respectively. Courage was needed to recover those spaces from the colonisers. And it was precisely this courage that Bulfin chose to represent through characters

[...]

However, there are still present ethnic differences, like Castro's *swarthy skin*. Skin colour is still an important marker, as when the narrator in *Campeando* observes that ‘a man surrounded by dogs and brown-skinned children’ is distinctly a *gaucho*.

(Murray 2003: 76)

When they come back, the narrator gets a warning from Mike, another Irishman:

“You’re gettin’ too much of the country into you, me boy – racin’, and bettin’, and helpin’ the natives to cut each other to pieces, and galavantin’ round the seven parishes suckin’ *mate* an’ colloquerin’ with the *gauchos* – that’s all right while it lasts. But you’ll get a bad name for yourself, take my words for it.

... If you’re always stuck with the natives behind the *galpon* instead of attendin’ to your good name, you’ll be sent with them, and you’ll get into their ways, and the day’ll come when the dickens a decent man in the country will have anything to say or do with you.”

Mike was as good as gold, and meant well by me. But he failed to convince me. (110)

The last line differentiates the narrator’s gaze from that of the rest of the community. This makes Susan Wilkinson state that ‘[The Irish] knew *Gauchos*

and, for the most part, did not like them, and they did not understand Bulfin's affection and respect for them' (Wilkinson 1997: x). This may have added to the reasons why the tales did not become popular among the community, who grew very wealthy as the 20th century advanced, and married into the porteño elite.

... the local elite was fond of everything English, and for this reason the Irish settlers (English at that time) were warmly welcomed in their new country to replace the local labour force, the *gaucho*.

[...]

English was in fact an advantage for the Irish arriving in Argentina. Because of their language, the Irish in Argentina were conceived as *ingleses* by the native, Anglophile society, and therefore granted a higher social status than other local and immigrant groups.

(Murray 2003: 55 / 58)

Now that 'the Indians had been cleared out of the district' ('El High-Life': 51), both the native elite and the English-speaking immigrants think of the Gauchos as 'the other' who must accept submission as *peones*, and Bulfin in 'Campeando' is aware of this:

Around them in the pampa air, are the freedom, the romance, the poetry, the heroism, the squalor, the viciousness, the empty monotony, the crime, the fatalism from which they cannot escape – of which they are the product. Before them is a future which belongs to others, not to them or theirs. Were it not generally so futile and so sad to give serious thought to the Might Have been, one might be tempted to speculate upon what these people would have done in this world had they not been so long and so cruelly neglected. (106)

BOYLE, V. (ed.) (1999). *A South American Adventure. Letters from George Reid 1867 - 1870.*

The letters written by George Reid to his family in England were not meant for publication. They can be said to have documentary rather than literary value, in that they are authentic accounts of the hard life of an immigrant from

England trying to make a living by sheep farming in the Argentine province of Entre Ríos. In this sense, they belong together with Jane Robson's memoirs (Cf. pp. 147-156), and they both achieve 'literary' quality though the work of an editor, in this case, Valery Boyle, Reid's granddaughter, who compiled and edited the letters when she got them after her parents' death.

However, they might have become part of yet another 'utilitarian' narrative, as, in response to his mother's comment that readers would be interested in his letters, Reid writes:

I am very much flattered by the appreciation of my letters... I have been thinking ... since I had your letter, that possibly if anyone does really think that the sort of thing I write to you is worth publishing, ... I might write some sort of an account of the ways of going on here that might interest 'young men with a view to sheep farming' and their relations.

It seems to me that all the books on this country are of two kinds, either accounts of travel for pleasure, or else statistical accounts of the prospects by investing in land, sheep, etc. (140)

In spite of a writer's note quoted by Boyle in her introduction, where he introduces himself as he would in a preface, the publication did not come true until Boyle selected 74 out of a total of 140 letters, omitting 'domestic gossip', and self-published them as a book, with minimum editing.

Reid left for South America in 1867 with his partner William Clode, as 'one of the many young Englishmen who, failing to find employment in their own country, were attracted by the glowing accounts published about that time of the free, open-air life to be enjoyed, and the rapid fortunes to be made, by settlers in South America' (vii). He returned to Europe on a short visit in 1869 and was back in Buenos Aires in February 1870. But on May 25, 1870 he writes 'It really is an infernal country to live in' (167). Civil war has broken out in Entre Ríos after the assassination of Governor Urquiza, many

Englishmen leave their estancias and Reid goes back to Europe in 1871, 'finally defeated by the climate, draughts, floods, cholera, civil war and lack of capital' (viii), and finds a job and a wife in Porto.

In his early days in the country, Reid decides not to stay in Buenos Aires because it is too expensive and he hears terrible stories of Indian attacks on estancias in Santa Fé. While still in Buenos Aires, he is already disappointed in the contrast between what the press promises and the prospects before him:

The hotel is full of fellows going home in disgust. It is a terrible shame the way in which people are induced in all sorts of ways to come out here with the idea that they are going to make fortunes. The editor of *The Standard* will get shot some day by some of the scores of them he has ruined by persuading them to come out, and serve him jolly well right. It is miserable to see the men ... who have thrown up their employment and come out with their families with a fixed idea that somehow or other they are to come into possession of a heap of sheep and make no end of money; they hang about the town where everything is ruinously expensive, till they come to their last farthing... (27)

And by the time he has settled in Gualeguaychú, his impression is reinforced:

Did you ever see such a miserably badly written paper as *The Standard*? I often wonder what you think of some of its productions; it is so notorious here that it is a common saying in town 'Have you seen *The Standard*? What's the last lie?' (130)

Reid remains a critical outsider, at least when he addresses his family, showing hardly any instances of acculturation. Throughout his stay, he is mostly in the company of other English farmers and cattle ranchers and except for words like 'puesto' and 'saladero', terms with no equivalent in English, there are no instances of code-switching. There is, however, at least one gaucho friend who 'wishing to do [him] a good turn, drew his knife across the tethering rope' of a horse he had been forced to sell to the army. The horse 'must have had a long travel across camp', but instinctively returned to its birthplace, together with

four other horses, and Reid is glad to announce that ‘they are not branded so they become our property again according to camp law’ (173). Both the Gauchos’ slyness and allegiance to friends, to whom they are always ready to do a good turn (known as ‘gauchada’), are evidenced in this anecdote.

As regards the Indians, guaraní presence in the area has been subordinated to the authority of the army and the police. Just as they were feared as ‘savages’ when they defended their land, they are now accepted in the household as submissive servants, slaves that can be given away:

They have a little Indian girl to look after him who does very well. She was caught in Corrientes and the chief of police gave her to Clode. (153)

The fear of miscegenation and acculturation is explicit in a letter to his mother:

I am very much put out today having just heard that a man I like very much, Beckwith, has turned Catholic and married a half-Indian woman who used to wash for me when I was at La Peregrina.(133)

It is perhaps this feeling of foreignness, combined with the hardships of civil war, that makes Reid go back to Europe without ever becoming a ‘Gauchogringo’, although he has ‘entirely forgotten how to walk or sit down’ (131) and writes his letters on horseback .

<p>PILLING, William (1878). [An estanciero] <i>Ponce de Leon, or the Rise of the Argentine Republic</i> ----- (1878). <i>Near the Lagunas: or, scenes in the States of La Plata.</i></p>
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Born in Liverpool in 1834, William Pilling arrived in Buenos Aires in December 1852, where he worked as a journalist for the *Commercial Times*. Following the closure of the *Commercial Times* when *The Standard* opened,

Pilling wrote one of the most popular books in Anglo-Argentine home libraries in the 1920s and 1930s: *Ponce de Leon, or the Rise of the Argentine Republic*, under the pseudonym 'An Estanciero'. Under this pseudonym he is still known and listed in libraries today. According to Colin Sharp (2003)

One copy of the first edition, published by Chapman & Hall in London, with a publishers date of 1878, is inscribed by the owner, who was Mr. Edward H. Ripley of 464 Reconquista, corner La Valle (*sic*), and dated July 20th 1887, as follows "Sr. Don Pilling was our fellow voyageur from Lisbon to Buenos Aires, May 25th to June 16th 1887". Subsequent editions of the book into the 1930's were published by T. Werner Laurie of London, and Mitchell's Bookshop of Buenos Aires, under the date 1910.

*Ponce de Leon* is a novel on the two British invasions, perhaps based upon Pilling's conversations with British ex-soldiers and survivors, to judge from the detailed description of fighting in the streets. It follows the fortunes of several fictional characters up to the Declaration of Independence in 1816. It is a romance written in archaic language, with melodramatic touches which would provide a good script for a historical soap opera, but it has become a rare book only found in old personal libraries and archives. Libraries sometimes list Ponce de León as the author, which makes it more difficult to find.

Soon after this novel there appeared another one, *Near the Lagunas or, Scenes in the States of La Plata*, by the author of *Ponce de León*. It was reviewed by the *Standard* and the *Buenos Aires Herald* in May 1879, although O'Halloran (1912) gives 1895 as the date of publication. According to Colin Sharp (2003), Mitchell's reprinted it in several editions into the 1920s and 1930s, this time, under the name of William Pilling.

The novel is set in the large Estancia San Matilda and the Estancia Chica next to it, in 'the region of the 'Lagunas Encadenadas' some seven leagues south

from Chascomús' (5). Irish cattle ranchers, criollos and Gauchos all share time and mate in the estancias, and descriptions of shearing and races provide instances of 'costumbrismo' and code-switching, for which a glossary is provided at the end of the book. But like *Ponce de León*, this is a romance, where forbidden love affairs, revenge and politics are woven into a plot in which the reader meets a large number of historical and fictional characters constructed through highly artificial dialogue.

As in the previous novel by Pilling, history comes to life from a domestic perspective, as the battles between Urquiza and Mitre affect the characters' daily lives. The pampas and rural customs, meant to be read by British eyes, are defamiliarised and explained:

RALPH MAHONY took warning from his previous experience in "cutting camp," and before he left Santa Matilda made sure that he had a correct idea of the way to the Pajonales. The way was easy enough to one accustomed to traverse those pathless plains called pampas, but their level uniformity, which renders travelling so easy, is just the circumstance which leads an unaccustomed traveller astray. There is so much sameness that once wrong he has no landmark by which to get himself right again. (164)

However, the historical characters and events are blended into the fiction without clarification, so that the book can be read as a totally fictional romance. Perhaps this is why the book was so popular among Anglo-Argentines who, acquainted with Argentine history, could see the 'faction' Pilling had built upon historical data. The text reaffirms the heroic view of English-speaking immigrants who, like Jane Robson and perhaps their own ancestors, needed courage not only to adapt to a new land but to survive the horrors of the skirmishes between caudillos.

### 5.3 A growing network of travel writing

In the 1853-1914 period, several texts continue the textual tradition of the 'capitalist vanguard' (Cf. p. 91), combining personal narrative with utilitarian considerations, which grow more and more complex and optimistic as the country slowly reaches political and economic stability and tries to strengthen its commercial and cultural links with Europe and the United States. Among such texts, we find the following titles:

RICKARD, F. I. (1863). *A Mining Journey Across the Great Andes; with Exploration in the Silver Mining Districts of the Provinces of San Juan and Mendoza, and a Journey Across the Pampas to Buenos Aires.*

While working in Valparaíso, Chile, in 1862 Major Rickard travels to San Juan, on the Argentine side of the Andes, on a mission that resembles those of Mawe, Miers, Head, Andrews, Temple and Haigh (Cf. chapter 4). Like his predecessors, he describes the crossing of the Andes, Mendoza, San Luis and the city of Buenos Aires, which can by then boast of emblematic buildings, like the world famous-opera house, the Colón Theatre. A distinctive feature of the text is the detailed portrait of Rickard's 'much esteemed friend', the writer and future president, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento, and a meeting with Mitre (Cf. p.67), who became president a short time before the publication of the work in London.

We also find a traditional travel narrative by an American writer, with full-page photographs by the author:

INTER, Nevin Otto (1911). *Argentina and her People of Today; an Account of the Customs, Characteristics, Amusements, History and Advancements of the Argentinians and the Development and Resources of the Country.*

Some works originate in the explorations of the soil for the purpose of laying the expanding railway network, as is the case with the following text:

CRAWFORD, Robert (1884). *Across the Pampas and the Andes*.

Crawford travelled across the country to study where to lay the railway lines that would join Argentina and Chile. The 'Campaign to the Desert' (Cf. p.67) with its fortresses, Indian incursions and the advancing frontier line are recurrent motifs. Crawford's pragmatic purpose is revealed in his appendices, where he provides details on Andean peaks, crossings, railway lines and colonies

Other texts reinforce the tendency towards 'tourism discourse' already present in Brand (Cf. p. 118), which can be exemplified by these two titles:

JOHNSON, H.C. R. (1868). *A Long Vacation in the Argentine Alps, or Where to Settle in the River Plate States*.

Johnson was a lawyer who set off for the River Plate in June 1867. In his book, Johnson presents the usual descriptions of Montevideo, Buenos Aires, Gauchos and estancias, as well as a trip to Rosario and also to Córdoba, which gives him the opportunity to digress and write in favour of the Jesuit Fathers that were forced to leave the city. There is a more unusual description of Catamarca and the actions of the 'caudillos'. Its originality lies in the point of view of a tourist who advises others on the possibility of settling in Argentina, but still one who, from the Eurocentric perspective of a visitor, considers the hills 'the Argentine Alps'.

BINGHAM, Hiram (1911). *Across South America; an Account of a Journey from Buenos Aires to Lima by Way of Potosi, with notes on Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru*.

The American explorer and archeologist writes four chapters on Buenos Aires, whose "fine book shops" impress him. There is a description of Rosario, Tucumán and Jujuy, a whole chapter on Argentine Independence and excellent

photographs. Two years later Bigham was in charge of the expedition to Peru which discovered Machu Picchu.

An innovation in this series is the writing by women travellers, such as the following text:

BRASSEY, Anna Allnut (1881) *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam" our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*.

The first edition of Lady Brassey's book was published in London in 1878. She was a great traveller who died at sea from malaria in 1887 and her trip was among the best known at the time. They left England on July 6 1876, arriving in Buenos Aires in September. She describes train journeys in the Province of Buenos Aires, and the cities of Rosario and Córdoba, as well as the estancias of members of the Anglo-Argentine community and important Argentine ranchers such as Alvear. Following Fitz-Roy and Darwin, she also describes the crossing of the strait of Magellan and the original inhabitants and colonists in Tierra del Fuego. In fact, travel writing on Patagonia becomes a series of its own, with Falkner, Fitz-Roy and Darwin as recurrent references.

#### **5.4 On Patagonia**

Livon-Grosman (2001) differentiates three stages in the construction of Patagonian representations through travel writing:

1. The compilation of data and classification of objects and peoples, meant to increase scientific knowledge and control the area by means of geographical and ethnographic mapping. This can be seen in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century accounts by English travellers: Falkner, Fitz-Roy and Darwin, discussed in chapter 4. Their focus is imitated by Argentinians who are interested in scientific exploration, but they soon become involved in the construction of

territorial integrity which will be one of the central aims of the 'Conquest of the Desert', the major military operation against the indigenous population led by General Roca in the 1870s (Cf. p. 67).

Initially represented as a territory occupied by multiple Indian nations (Falkner, Cf. pp.83-87) Patagonia is metaphorically constructed as an empty place where the origin of life can be found (Darwin, Cf. pp. 130-136).

2. The 'Conquest of the Desert' inaugurates the second stage, as the defeat of the Indians and their retreat from Northern Patagonian territory will create new circumstances for exploration. The Argentine government encourages and sponsors exploration and territorial occupation to ensure sovereignty. Several British travellers write accounts of their visits, with Darwin as a source: Musters (Cf. pp. 197-199), Dixie (Cf. pp. 201-204) and Hudson himself (Cf. pp. 204-205), who contributes to building the mythical representation of Patagonia as 'nature'.

3. This stage, which continues to the present day, involves the metaphorical construction of the Patagonian space as 'nature', the land where the future of Argentina lies. 'The region is no longer represented as a barbaric, unexplored desert; instead, it is presented as a metaphor of the future, the territory where it is still possible to find the opportunities to realise what was not possible in other regions of Argentina' (Livon-Grosman 2001: 5, my translation).

Hudson's *Idle Days in Patagonia* will be followed by the texts by Theroux and Chatwin in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century, as well as by Argentine narratives in response to the accounts in English. 'It is possible to see a pendular movement which weaves, along several generations, a web made of narrations which is some

cases have no other starting point than to revisit that of a previous traveller' (Livon-Grosman 2001: 5, my translation).

MUSTERS, George Chaworth (1871). *At Home with the Patagonians, a year's wondering over untrodden ground from the Straits of Magellan to the Río Negro.*

George Chaworth Musters was born in Naples, while his English parents were travelling, on 13 February 1841. An orphan at an early age, he was brought up chiefly by his mother's brothers, one of whom was Robert Hamond, who had sailed with Captain Fitzroy and Charles Darwin on the voyage to South America on HMS *Beagle*. Before Hamond joined the crew, another of George's uncles, Charles Musters, had died of a fever on board, aged only 13. It is not surprising that George should dream of exploring far-away lands. After a successful career in the Royal Navy, while serving in South America he bought land and started a sheep farm in Uruguay. But it was not until 1869 that Musters was able to carry out the long-cherished ambition to travel in southern South America. The first English edition of his account of the trip was so successful that it had to be reprinted two years later and it was translated into German that year too. According to López (2003), this reveals the continuing interest in Patagonia in the international context.

On page 1 of his book, Musters mentions the works of Fitz-Roy and Darwin on Patagonia as the source of his interest in the region, but in the preface he warns readers that they are not to expect accurate scientific descriptions. Instead, he mentions the focus which is clear in the title: sharing his experience of life with the Indians, among whom he was at home, and making his readers feel at home too:

To others who may perhaps eagerly expect tales of stirring adventure and hair-breadth escapes, such as are usually recounted as the every-day occurrences of uncivilised life, I can only express the hope that this faithful record of life with the Indians all the year round, if not very sensational, will serve at least to make them really at home with the Tehuelches.(vii)

In this sense, Musters inaugurates a new series, although the Conquest of the Desert will soon put an end to the life he describes.

Musters was one of the first Europeans to document the region, travelling with a group of Indians from the Straits of Magellan to the River Negro 'equipped with a guanaco skin mantle, lazo and bolas' (2), and then crossing northern Patagonia from east to west, a journey of almost 1400 miles, half of which was unknown to Europeans. Following in Falkner's steps, he provides the first comprehensive account of the eastern foothills of the Andes and of the lifestyle of the Tehuelche, Pampas, and Araucanian Indians.

Unlike Fitz-Roy and Darwin before him and Beerbohm after him, Musters describes the Indians as unmistakably human, capable of labour. This can be exemplified by his description of the Chilotes, the people of the island of Chiloé (part of the territory of modern Chile) who have been introduced as workers in Punta Arenas:

[These men], who are of mixed Spanish and Indian blood, are a hardy, sturdy race, accustomed to the use of the axe in their own thickly-wooded country, whence they export quantities of timber. They are very Paddies in their diet, living almost altogether on potatoes, which grow freely in Chiloé, but in Punta Arenas do not attain large size. Besides land, the Chilotes receive wages from the Government for their labour, and are the most industrious portion of the population (9).

Throughout the book, Musters corrects misnomers and clarifies generalisations and false beliefs, against the common practice of describing one particular

indigenous nation and then extending their customs and beliefs to all others in the region, usually based on hear-say evidence. This also applies to the landscape:

English readers, who have derived their idea of a Pampa from Head's delightful work, or from other experiences of the unlimited grassy or thistle covered plains which roll away for miles in the Argentine States, and offer no obstruction to the stretching gallop of the untiring gaucho, must not transfer that pleasing picture to Patagonia. The Pampas, properly so called, of Patagonia, occasionally indeed present a tolerably even and uniform succession of rolling plains covered with coarse grass, but more frequently the surface, even when unbroken by hills and suddenly yawning ravines, is sterile, with a sparse vegetation, consisting of stunted bushes and round thistle clumps; and even these are often wanting, and nothing clothes the bare patches of clay or gravel; elsewhere it is strewn with huge round boulders, and again rugged with confused heaps or ridges of bare sharp-edged rocks, many of them of volcanic origin this more particularly applying to the northern part of the country. (15)

Most of the encounters with the other are amiable, sometimes funny:

During the evening we were visited by several Indians, bringing presents of ostrich and guanaco meat. I was presented by the soldier with a piece of the gizzard (the tid bit), which he had cooked on the end of his ramrod; but I must confess I did not appreciate it at the time, though later on in my journey I learnt to relish this and other strange delicacies. (30)

Musters can speak Spanish with the Indians who accompany him and act as interpreters (including Sam Slick, the son of a Tehuelche chief). He even learns a little Tsonca, the language of the Northern Tehuelches, and adds an appendix with a short glossary. Another appendix lists observation by different travellers, including Darwin, Fitz-Roy and Cunninghame Graham.

BEERBOHM, Julius (1881). *Wanderings in Patagonia, or, Life among the Ostrich Hunters.*

An engineer, Beerbohm travelled to Patagonia in 1877 as part of a group sent to survey the land between Port Desire and Santa Cruz. The books is the

account of the time he spent there in what can be considered an example of the 'utilitarian trip'. He describes the natural history and geography of the region, Magellan's expedition, Francis Drake's and the Beagle's. He mentions the dispute over sovereignty between Chile and Argentina in Santa Cruz and Tierra del Fuego.

Beerbohm travels long distances on horseback and describes the skill and freedom of ostrich hunters and Gaucho customs. In his description of the Gaucho Isidoro, 'who is several times mentioned in Captain Musters' interesting book, 'At Home with the Patagonians'' (37), he highlights the 'profusion of black hair which he carefully groomed every morning' and his general expression of 'intelligence and good humour' (38).

On the other hand, his view of the Fuegian Indians is clearly influenced by Darwin's account rather than Musters's. On reaching what is today part of Chilean Tierra del Fuego, he describes the Chilotes and compares them with the Fuegians:

I must say that I have never seen a more repulsively ugly and wretched-looking race than these same Chilotes [...]. They are of low stature and light build, their complexion is swarthy, their foreheads low, and the general expression of their faces is one of brutish stupidity blended with savage ferocity. I think there is, on the whole, very little to choose between them and the Fuegians, who, I believe, are commonly admitted to represent the lowest type of humanity extant. (216)

The stereotypical blend of stupidity and savagery is reinforced by a belief of inferiority in the evolutionary chain, only based on what is 'commonly admitted'.

Beerbohm goes through hardships and his life is at risk when the Santa Cruz river floods, but he ends the book with pleasant memories in which nature and 'the frank kindness of my unconventional companions' stand out. His sketches

provided the basis for the illustrations for Lady Florence Dixie's *Across Patagonia* (1881).

DIXIE, Florence (1880). *Across Patagonia*.

Born in Scotland, Lady Florence Douglas was the daughter of the Eighth Marquess of Queensberry and his wife Caroline. She married Sir Alexander Dixie in 1875 and became Lady Dixie. Weary of her life in English society, in 1878-1879 Dixie travelled in Patagonia with her husband, two of her brothers and Julius Beerbohm, whom they employed to guide them in their pleasure trip. She hunted big game and caught a jaguar which she took to England with her and kept as a pet. The jaguar killed several deer in Windsor Park and had to be sent to a zoo.

On her return, Dixie wrote her book *Across Patagonia* (1880), based on Musters. The trip too six months and became the best known 'female trip' of the period, perhaps because Lady Dixie was a notorious feminist and eccentric. Like Lady Brassey before her, Lady Dixie describes the Straits of Magellan, the snow-covered Andean peaks, the fauna and the flora, and gives a detailed description of the Tehuelches, following Musters.

The sense of estrangement and the civilisation vs. wilderness binary appear even before she reaches Patagonia, a land wrought with mythical features:

"Patagonia! Who would ever think of going to such a place?"  
"Why, you will be eaten up by cannibals!" "What on earth makes you choose such an outlandish part of the world to go to?" "What can be the attraction?" "Why, it is thousands of miles away, and no one has ever been there before, except Captain Musters, and one or two other adventurous madmen!"

These and similar questions and exclamations I heard from the lips of my friends and acquaintances, when I told them of my intended trip to Patagonia, the land of the Giants, the land of the fabled Golden City of Manoa. What was the attraction of going to a place so many miles away? The answer to the question was in their own

words. Precisely because it was an outlandish place and so far away, I chose it. Palled for the moment with civilization and its surroundings, I wanted to escape somewhere, where I might be as far removed from them as possible. (1-2)

On her arrival, the region is represented in terms of desolation, so unfamiliar that it does not seem to belong to the Earth:

Patagonia at last! Desolate and dreary enough it looked, a succession of bare plateaus, not a tree nor a shrub visible anywhere; a grey, shadowy country, which seemed hardly of this world; such a landscape, in fact, as one might expect to find on reaching some other planet. (29)

As in Beerbohm, her view of the original inhabitants is based on Darwin's and she is ready to believe what she has 'been told':

As we went along we passed a couple of canoes containing Fuegians, the inhabitants of the Tierra del Fuego, but **they were too far off to enable me to judge their appearance**, though I should have liked to have had a good look at them. They are **reputed to be cannibals**, and no doubt justly so. **I have been told** that in winter, when other food is scarce, they kill off their own men and women, though **of course** they prefer a white man if obtainable. (30-31, my emphasis)

But once she does meet the Indians, her narrative follows Musters' in her attempts to demystify the giants of Patagonia. She tries to avoid generalisations and distinguishes one ethnic group from the other, but always with the superior gaze that thinks of the Indian as an object that is part of the landscape being explored:

... I had leisure to observe their general appearance. I was not struck so much by their height as by their extra-ordinary development of chest and muscle. As regards their stature, I do not think the average height of the men exceeded six feet, and as my husband stands six feet two inches I had a favourable opportunity for forming an accurate estimate.[...] The features of the pure-bred Tehuelche are extremely regular, and by no means unpleasant to look at. The nose is generally aquiline, the mouth well shaped and beautified by the whitest of teeth, the expression of the eye is intelligent, and the form of the whole head affords a favourable index to their mental capabilities.

These remarks do not apply to the Tehuelches in whose veins there is a mixture of Araucanian or Fuegian blood. The flat noses, oblique eyes, and badly proportioned figures of the latter make them most repulsive objects.

[...]

The Tehuelches are a race that is fast approaching extinction, and even at present it scarcely numbers eight hundred souls. They lead a rambling nomadic existence, shifting their camping places from one region to another, whenever the game in their vicinity gets shy or scarce. It is fortunate for them that the immense numbers of guanaco and ostriches makes it an easy matter for them to find subsistence, as they are extremely lazy, and, plentiful as game is around them, often pass two or three days without food rather than incur the very slight exertion attendant on a day's hunting.

But it is only the men who are cursed or blessed with this indolent spirit. The women are indefatigably industrious. (66/ 67 - 68)

Dixie derives conclusions on gender roles, marriage, parental relationships and fidelity that would demand a long period of observation and enquiry. Yet, there is no evidence of conversation between the travellers and the native inhabitants and the former do not stay in the camp. They exchange goods, the English are teased by the natives (in English!) and the visitors leave:

Our curiosity regarding the Indians being satisfied, and having obtained all the meat we could from them, we now turned homewards. (73)

The original peoples are once again elements of the landscape. At a time when government discourse legitimates expansion over Indian land, if the Indians are part of the landscape they should be subjugated with it to make room for progress – where progress involves the abandonment of indolent nomadic habits for sheep farming under a white estanciero.

According to Mónica Szurmuk, Dixie's gaze is that of an aristocrat who is completely indifferent to the plight of the Tehueches and describes their domestic life 'with idyllic words which resemble Hardy's descriptions of the inhabitants of the English countryside' (2000: 113, my translation). However, her point of view will change when she visits Africa, and she will become an

advocate of Irish independence, drawing a parallel between British imperialism in Africa and in Ireland.

HUDSON William Henry (1893). *Idle Days in Patagonia*.

Hudson spent one year in Río Negro, where he arrived in 1871. On arrival, his vision of Patagonia as a mythical empty land where nature rules is made explicit:

Patagonia! How often had I pictured in imagination, wishing with an intense longing to visit this solitary wilderness, resting far off in its primitive and desolate peace, untouched by man, remote from civilisation! There it lay full in sight before me – the unmarred desert that wakes strange feelings in us; the ancient habitation of giants, whose foot-prints seen on the sea-shore amazed Magellan and his men, and won for it the name of Patagonia. There, too, far away in the interior, was the place called Trapalanda, and the spirit-guarded lake, on whose margin rose the battlements of that mysterious city, which many have sought and none have found. (4)

He describes an idyllic picture of the Rio Negro and a thatched farmhouse with references meant for British readers:

...on emerging from the thickets of dwarf thorn trees through which we had ridden in single file the magnificent Rio Negro lay before us. Never river seemed fairer to look upon: **broader than the Thames at Westminster**, and extending away on either hand until it melted and was lost in the blue horizon, its low shores clothed in all the glory of groves and fruit orchards and vineyards and fields of ripening maize. Far out in the middle of the swift blue current floated flocks of **black-necked swans**, their white plumage shining like foam in the sunlight; while just beneath us, scarcely a stone's throw off, stood the **thatched farmhouse** of our conductor, the **smoke curling up peacefully from the kitchen chimney**. A grove of large old cherry trees, in which the house was embowered, added to the charm of the picture; and as we rode down to the gate we noticed the **fully ripe cherries glowing like live coals** amid the deep green foliage. (15-16, my emphasis)

Hudson's memories are those of the naturalist fascinated by the wild life and, like Musters, impressed by the emptiness of the landscape. He quotes

Darwin's closing words in *The Voyage of the Beagle* (191, analysed here on p. 136), italicises the lines in which Darwin wonders why the 'arid wastes have taken so firm possession of [his] mind' and tries to find an answer:

We know that the more deeply our feelings are moved by any scene the more vivid and lasting will its image be in memory... Judging from my own case, I believe that we have here the secret of the persistence of Patagonian images, and their frequent recurrence in the minds of many who have visited that grey, monotonous, and, in one sense, eminently uninteresting region. It is not the effect of the unknown, it is not imagination; it is that nature in these desolate scenes... moves us more deeply than in others. (193)

Patagonia, of which Hudson only visits the Rio Negro valley, is represented as nature, a nature whose emptiness leads to the deepest feelings and inner search. In such vastness and emptiness, people are found in missions, apple orchards, small towns, but the Indians are a presence beyond the frontier, where in chapter VII Damian the white captive survives as one more member of the tribe and returns thirty years later only to find that he is despised by his old friends as 'an Indian and nothing else!'. Indians are, in evolutionist terms, at a lower level than the 'long-vanished inhabitants' of the plains:

... I sometimes attempted to picture to myself something of the outer and inner life of the long-vanished inhabitants. The red men of today may be of the same race and blood, the lineal descendants of the workers in stone in Patagonia; but they are without doubt so changed, and have lost so much, that their progenitors would not know them, nor acknowledge them as relations. Here, as in North America, **contact with a superior race** has debased them and ensured their destruction. Some of their wild blood will continue to flow in the veins of those who have taken their place; but as a race they will be blotted out from earth, as utterly extinct in a few decades as the mound-makers of the Mississippi valley, and the races that built the forest-grown cities of Yucutan and Central America. The men of the past in the Patagonian valley were alone with nature, makers of their own weapons and self-sustaining, untouched by any outside influence, and with no knowledge of any world beyond their valley and the

adjacent uninhabited uplands. And yet, judging even from that dim partial glimpse I had had of their vanished life, in the weapons and fragments I had picked up, it seemed evident that **the mind was not wholly dormant in them, and that they were slowly progressing to a higher condition.** (37, my emphasis)

A romanticised Indian presence takes the form of arrowheads and skulls left by the ancestors of the local inhabitants, found by Hudson's keen naturalist's eye:

In places where they were thickly crowded together, I would stop to take them up and examine them, one by one, only to put them carefully down again; and sometimes, holding one in my hand, I would pour out the yellow sand that filled its cavity; and watching the shining stream as it fell, only the vainest of vain thoughts and conjectures were mine. (39)

Patagonia, the empty land waiting for progress, is the place where nature leads to soul-searching introspection.

PRICHARD, Hesketh (1902). *Through the Heart of Patagonia.*

Major Hesketh Vernon Prichard (1876-1922), who was mortally wounded in the First World War, was sponsored by the *Daily Express* to find a 'living fossil' in Patagonia. On August 2nd, 1898 an article signed by the Argentine paleontologist Florentino Ameghino was published in Paris in which the scientist announced that a neomyloodon had been sighted by Ramón Lista. In November it was published in *English Natural Science Vol. XXIII*, pp. 324-326. The *Daily Express* financed the expedition aimed at unveiling the mystery, which resulted in Prichard's book on Patagonia, but no myloodon was found.

Prichard arrived in Buenos Aires in September 1900, visited Trelew, Santa Cruz, the Andes and Punta Arenas over a period of nine months. The text is mostly a description of the discovery of Patagonian territory by Europeans, its

flora, its fauna and the Tehuelche people. The maps and photographs were provided by the renowned Argentine explorer Francisco P. Moreno and the book was illustrated by the English painter John Guille Millais (1865-1931).

BARCLAY, William Singer (1904/1926). *The Land of Magellan*.

Originally published in the *Geographical Journal*, vol. XXIII. London: 1904, pp. 62-79. Prof. William Barclay, born in England in 1871, visited Patagonia in the summer of 1901. He describes the colonisation of Patagonia, with references to Drake, Falkner, Darwin and many other historical figures, as well as Patagonian legends, the mylodon (see p. 206), Thomas Bridges and the English-speaking colonists and closes the publication with references to the question of the submission of the onas and other original peoples.

Thomas Bridges (1842–1898), whom Barclay refers to, was the first Anglican missionary to succeed in setting up a mission in Tierra del Fuego, which was located at what is now the town of Ushuaia. He wrote the *Yamana-English Dictionary*, reprinted by his family in 1988.

In 1886, the government of Argentina established a presence in Ushuaia, so Bridges left the mission and was granted 50,000 acres of land at what is now Estancia Haberton, where he raised sheep and cattle. He died in Buenos Aires on July 15, 1898. One of his sons, Esteban Lucas Bridges, wrote a book, *Uttermost Part of the Earth*, which argues against the Darwinian view of the 'Fuegians' (Cf. pp. 229-232).

The series of texts on Patagonia written in this period by Argentine and English-speaking writers, as well as those by the writers mentioned in chapter 4, form a palimpsest (Livon-Grosman 2001: 1) that continues growing to the

present day and is scrutinised in terms of discursive representations in the work of Livon-Grosman (2001, 2003) and López (2003). The web of intersecting citations, cross-references and responses deserves detailed study beyond the scope of this thesis, but the series offers relevant examples of the construction of a mythical landscape where the other can be controlled and subjected as part of that landscape, in the name of science, civilisation and progress.

### **5. 5 Anglo-Argentine writing at the turn of the century**

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Anglo-Argentine literature can boast of a good number of works, many of which can be said to belong to the genre that Argentina considers foundational of its national literature: the *gauchesca* (Graham, Hudson, Bulfin, Pilling). The language such texts are written in shows evidence of hybridity in its use of local terms, often without any glossing in the body of the texts (Graham, Bulfin), as well as structures which blend Spanish and English syntax (Bulfin).

At the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the original inhabitants are absent from many texts (Bulfin), as they are from the territories they used to roam freely on. This increasing absence becomes a meaningful silence about which no questions are asked – the new travel writing (with growing features of tourist discourse) celebrates the wealth and prosperity of the country, in particular of its ‘European’ capital, as a triumph of civilisation over barbarity (Rickard, Brassey). The lost freedom of the old Gaucho finds its way into literature as a metaphor for a primitive state of nature that has been sacrificed to progress (Graham, Hudson, Bulfin); the remaining presence of original peoples in Patagonia provides touches of the exotic (Beerbohm, Dixie) in a land that is

represented more and more as a space for introspection and the building of the nation's future.

By the time the First World War breaks out, Argentina has become a sort of promised land, capable of feeding the hungry countries at war, and Anglo-Argentines will have to choose whether to go on playing polo and spending evenings at the Jockey Club or cross the Atlantic back to the country they call 'home' and join the British Army, and perhaps never see Argentine land again.

## **6. Expanding the Concept of Anglo-Argentine Literature**

### **6.1 From the First World War to the Malvinas/Falklands War aftermath**

Although the Anglo-Argentine community of nearly 30,000 inhabitants lost almost 5,000 members who left for Britain to join the war effort – of whom only about twenty five per cent were to return – Britain maintained its prestige locally and still held the status of most prominent investor (Cf. pp. 73-74) in a country whose economy kept growing on the basis of meat and grain exports and an extensive railway network, mostly owned by British capital.

Besides, in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century Argentina offered land in that ‘empty space’ that the pampas and Patagonia had become after the original peoples were practically annihilated in the 1880s. ‘Camp’ life offered both the scenario for a fresh start in contact with nature (as proposed by Hudson in *Idle Days in Patagonia*, Cf. pp.204-206) and the possibility of becoming a rich landowner if the obstacles posed by a hostile climate and political instability could be overcome. This twofold gaze, established in what has been referred to as ‘the golden age’ of Anglo-Argentine literature in the previous chapter, becomes a recurrent thematic focus in the literature produced in English about Argentina in this period.

Growing foreign interest in the prosperous Southern country is reflected in texts which follow the conventions of ‘Southamericana’, adding more titles to the ‘gauchesca’ in English. Other texts resemble travel guides which praise the cosmopolitan Capital and both the natural and commercial attractions of the pampas, the Andes and Patagonia. ‘The other’ is no longer ‘the Indian’, except as a memory of a world that previous writers have witnessed, but the ‘native’

population now made up of a mixture of immigrants from all over the world, even in rural areas.

After the Second World War, the rise of Peronism and the nationalisation of the railways, experienced by the community as the collapse of their way of life (Cf. p. 77), the term 'Anglo-Argentine' becomes more and more imprecise as an identity label, as discussed in chapter 2 (pp. 33-35) on the basis of Florencia Cortés Conde's case study of bilingualism in the Buenos Aires community (2007). Issues of community identity and the attempt to recover the past are present in some texts, but more and more Anglo-Argentines write in Spanish.

After the conflict in the South Atlantic, issues of national allegiance and identity become crucial for the Anglo-Argentines, who need to take sides. This, as Florencia Cortés Conde shows in her research, can be seen in the editorials and letters to the editor published during and after the conflict in the *Buenos Aires Herald*.

Historically, English has been for the community both a language with instrumental value and a language of group solidarity. Today, English, which has power at international level, has lost the distinctive power of belongingness for the Anglo-Argentines. This has happened in spite of the socioeconomic position of the group, the institutional support of schools, clubs and the press. Even though English goes on being a second language with instrumental value for them, its loss as the language of the home has led to the fragmentation of the Anglo-Argentine community. This fragmentation was particularly exacerbated during the Malvinas war (1982), which highlighted the dilemma posed by the double identity of the community: this duality became a hard demand for those who had called Great Britain their home while they lived in Argentina.

(Cortés Conde 2007: 35, my translation)

As we approach the present day, the language issue becomes increasingly relevant in relationship to the definition of identity/ies. This will be discussed through the work of Andrew Graham-Yooll (Cf. pp. 264-269).

The large number of diverse texts from this period cannot be discussed individually within the scope of this research. As in chapter 5, texts have been grouped into series, establishing intertextual connections among them and their predecessors and focusing in more detail on the texts which contribute to the thematic focus of this thesis. Finally, a 'focus text', Andrew Graham-Yooll's *Se Habla Spanglés*, is analysed to integrate the observations made at different points in this research and to reconsider the label 'Anglo-Argentine literature'.

## 6.2 'New' Travel Writing

By the 1910s, the explorers' gaze has been replaced by that of the tourist, though at all times writers are aware of an English-speaking audience who may travel to the exotic lands they are visiting not only on pleasure trips but for investment, or settlement, or both. Argentina has become 'The Amazing Argentine' and texts praise the country and, above all, the city of Buenos Aires (referred to as 'the Paris of South America'), its buildings and affluence.

The first text in this series is particularly illustrative of the representation of Argentina as a land of opportunity:

FRASER, John Foster (1914). *The Amazing Argentine. A New Land of Enterprise.*

On board an 'Atlantic liner' bound for South America, Fraser describes the passengers in an introductory chapter he entitles 'The Invaders':

What Latin America means to-day is told in the personalities of the passengers.

[...]

There is the Englishman, 'with interest in Argentina' going out to look after his property, frequently an estancia, or ranch, purchased when land was cheap, and before the boom came. Now a railway cuts across his property, and it has increased seventy-fold in value. Sometimes he mentions drought; occasionally he shudders at the mention of locusts. But he recalls the state of things when he went out thirty or forty years ago 'with not much more than a bob,' and how he has a fortune made out of meat shipped to Europe, and his only regret seems to be the iniquitous amount of death duties which will have to be paid by his heirs.

... He has 'retired'. He lives at home in Belgravia, and gives fine dinner parties. But he keeps an eye on the Argentine stock, and when you encounter him in the club he repeats that 'Argentina is not what it was but still-' and then makes you wish you could place your hand on some of the plums that remain.

There is the rich Argentine who shows what he is made of by insisting upon everybody in the smoking-room drinking champagne at his expense –and he is uncomplimentary if anybody deliberately refuses his hospitality. There is the man who hires a band to play to him during the voyage. There is the delicate lady who has a special cow on board so that she may be sure of fresh milk. (6-7)

The book follows its late 19<sup>th</sup> century predecessors in that it presents Argentina (and Latin America as a whole) as the land of opportunity, and it also belongs with the 'utilitarian trip' series in that the work is meant to inform about Argentina's potential for British settlers. But it is now the 20th century, Britain has built railways all over Argentina and the economic ties between both countries are strong:

British gold has flowed like water into South America to make the dormant region fruitful. British interests are colossal... Three hundred million British pounds sterling has been invested in Argentine railway and tramway companies, and there are on board men who manage the lines – tall, stalwart, clear-skinned Englishmen, with cool nerve and steady eye. (7-8)

Fraser then describes other British travellers: 'the big estancia men, proud and ambitious, who pay enormous prices for famous race-horses and get the best breeding stock from home in cattle and sheep', 'shrewd men going out on behalf of syndicates to throw their eyes round the country and scent out

possibilities for money-making on the grand scale', 'men who have been charged to take control of city development schemes', men 'who represent English firms', engineers, bank clerks and men with no mission 'except to see what they can pick up' (8-9). Fraser refers to the British travellers he meets on board as 'mostly a good brand of Britons, well set, and with courage in the veins... all this continent must long have continued to lie underdeveloped if it had not been for the constant and confident inflow of British money' (9). Spanish, Portuguese and Italian immigrants, on the other hand, travel third class ('few British there') 'with little but hope and muscle':

They are men of courage, or they would never have come forth. They take with them their fiery Latin temperament and fierce political, frequently anarchist, views. The native indians are mostly too cow-like to be of much use in industry. The millions of negroes in Brazil are too lazy to be relied upon. Labour is the need, the ever-pressing need.' (9)

The stereotypes present in previous works are reinforced here: the native population is represented as the negative polarity in the 'indolent vs. hard-working' binary. Within the category of hard-working immigrants, however, the division of Argentine society into first class immigrants and Latin labourers is clear: the former are 'tall, stalwart, clear-skinned Englishmen', the latter are courageous but bring with them 'their fiery Latin temperament and fierce political...views'. The ideology of British superiority is reinforced in the division of labour: if the clear-skinned British 'manage the lines', other immigrants, 'with little but hope and muscle', will be manual workers.

Buenos Aires, the 'Paris of South America' is described as a place of lavish luxury and ostentation:

A drive through Palermo at the fashionable hour causes one to gasp at the thought that one is six thousand miles from Europe. Nowhere in the world have I seen such a display of expensive motor-cars,

thousands of them. Ostentation is one of the stars of life in the Argentine. Appearances count for everything. You must have a motor-car, even if you have not the money to pay for it. (27)

The city that used to be described as primitive and filthy and the country which used to be represented as wild have now become a place where Europeans can hope for a better standard of living.

Poverty, as we understand it in Europe, does not exist in Argentina. But there are... men who are unable to earn anything, and who need help. There are widows and the fatherless to be cared for. There are poor folk, but their trouble is due to misfortune and not to economic causes. (35)

The 'men who are unable to earn anything' and the 'poor folk' are perhaps indirect references to what has become of the surviving original inhabitants and Gauchos, who are not part of the picture. This silence makes the reader suspicious that the writer may be exaggerating the positive aspects and covering the cracks of a socially unfair system where the immigrants who arrive with anarchist ideas may join the marginal population.

The one non-European feature Fraser disapproves of is the position of women in a society still marked by traces of Spanish colonial culture:

The ladies are exquisitely gowned, but they have not the vivacity of the French women nor their daring in dress. There is a demureness, a restraint which reminds one that the atmosphere of far-away Castile is still upon them. (27)

The visitor to Argentina soon begins to be aware of the low position of women in the minds of men, the way in which there is no real friendship between the sexes outside the family circle, and how no Argentine will trust another Argentine in regard to his ladies. With all their finery and jewellery and expensive motor-cars and boxes at the Colón Theatre, you are prone to remark, 'How un-European!' when you see the segregation of the women. (34)

Fraser seems to think that Spain and Italy are not really 'European' and reinforces the discourse of British superiority by suggesting that Latin cultures are backward as regards women's rights, with the underlying implication that

this is another aspect in which the British can make a contribution to Argentine society.

HAMMERTON, J. A. (1916). *The Argentine through English Eyes and a Summer in Uruguay*.  
----- (1928). *Memories of Books and Places*.

As opposed to Fraser, Hammerton is disappointed in Buenos Aires and demystifies the city, focusing on its negative aspects in a humorous, cynical tone that made *The Argentine through English Eyes* unpopular in Buenos Aires. In his 1928 book, *Memories of Books and Places*, Hammerton complains that

There has long existed a sort of unwritten rule that English writers must 'puff' all things Argentine, and the Argentine authorities have been alive to the uses of advertisement... I did not write my Argentine book to please the Argentines, who are indefatigable in listening to the praise of their country... So 'The Argentine through English Eyes' was not a popular book in Buenos Ayres, and having the bad fortune to appear while the Great War was still dragging its sanguinary course it had no noteworthy success in England, but it has sold well and still sells in America under the title 'The Real Argentina'. (268)

Hammerton does not find anything up to the standards he had imagined on the basis of previous travellers' accounts and photographs used in Britain to 'advertise' the River Plate. He hates the narrow streets, the noise and dust of the construction sites mushrooming everywhere, the way men stare at his wife and even at him. Besides, his discourse is constantly sprinkled with xenophobic comments on immigrants:

Everything that met one's eyes was mean, or makeshift. The shops along the Paseo were of the lowest class; most of the buildings were crumbling plaster shanties. The people trafficking in them were the dredgings of a lower life than one sees in the New Cut or in Petticoat Lane – incomparably more villainous in mien. It is true that the gardens which adorn the Paseo de Julio, and make that appear (in a photograph) one of the pleasantest thoroughfares in all

the world, looked beautiful, yet none but foul Italians and Semitic scum were to be seen walking there. (28)

His despise for those immigrants who have become beggars in the city extends to 'the ranks of the Scots and Irish rascals who pester their fellow-countrymen for alms in Florida and San Martin' (26). In short, Hammerton openly denounces the representation of Buenos Aires as the Paris of South America as a discursive misconstruction of the *nouveau riche*:

I have been told by old English residents of Buenos Ayres, who are prepared to perjure their souls on behalf of the city that has given them the opportunity to grow richer than they were ever likely to become at home, that "there are no poor and there are no beggars in Buenos Ayres." Both statements are untrue. There are lots of poor, and there are some beggars. It could not be otherwise in a vast metropolis, abnormally larger than the country behind it will warrant for many years to come, to which the poor of the poorest countries in Europe – Spain and Italy – are flocking in daily ship-loads.(41)

This passage contradicts Fraser's statement quoted on p. 215: 'Poverty, as we understand it in Europe, does not exist in Argentina'. The 'old English residents of Buenos Ayres' mentioned by Hammerton may then be the ones Fraser meets on board, and though the English *estanciero* in Fraser's text sometimes 'mentions drought' and 'occasionally... shudders at the mention of locusts', he may be minimising the hardships those who actually work the land should face, as depicted in Georg Reid's letters discussed in chapter 5 (Cf. pp.187-190).

Seven chapters of Hammerton's book describe the streets, building and monuments of the 'Splendid city of Sham' (as Buenos Aires is called in the title of Chapter VII) and in the next seven chapters he describes the social and business life of Argentines and Anglo-Argentines, to finally reach the

customary chapter on 'camp' life. Chapter XIV, on 'The British Colony', is particularly informative on the Anglo-Argentine community:

... wherever there are banks to be managed, railways to be maintained, machinery to be sold, there you will find the enterprising sons of Albion busy, and usually prosperous; though the figure I have just used may not quite apply, as the most familiar names borne by these self-exiles from our shores are Scots and Irish. (206)

His view of the 'untravelling' community is so openly biased that it becomes caricaturesque:

I had many other encounters with the same gentleman, who, having acquired some land which he was endeavouring to transfer to the public on the most philanthropic basis, turned himself into a walking advertisement for the glorious Argentine, and never ceased to explain to visitors how completely played out was Great Britain, how rapidly she was sliding down the slippery slope to oblivion, while the Argentine was forging ahead on the path to world empire! Please do not suppose I am exaggerating one little the declarations of this British driveller, who, by the way, hadn't acquired a single sentence of Spanish in five years (219-220)

Hammerton expects the Anglo-Argentine to consider Britain 'home' and criticises the anti-English attitude of the Irish-Argentines. The Anglo-Argentine who shows signs of transculturation and enjoys Palermo more than Hyde Park, even though he continues speaking English, becomes 'the other' in Hammerton's discourse.

GUEDALLA, Philip (1932). *Argentine Tango*  
----- (1938). *Ragtime and Tango*

Philip Guedalla (1889-1944) was a British barrister who became popular as a writer of biographical, historical and travel books. Guedalla's titles introduce tango, already in one of the sketches in Cunningham Graham's *Brought Forward*, which will become stereotypical in descriptions of Buenos Aires. In *Argentine Tango*, Guedalla identifies Hudson and Cunnigham Graham as

the canon of Anglo-Argentine literature, but he humorously states that their texts are of little use to the traveller (which in terms of our classification confirms that these authors' work is not to be considered travel writing):

Europe, Asia, Africa, and North America have yielded all their mystery, and any traveller who takes the trouble may know exactly what he is going to. But South America? As the chalk cliffs drop astern and the Channel opens out before him, who knows what he will find in South America? That is the real attraction.

For it must be confessed that earlier travellers have done extremely little to satisfy our curiosity. [...] Yet in the last analysis how much remains beyond a general impression of a sub-continent that is extremely roomy and maintains a population of minor characters with an exasperating tendency to improve all occasions with a sententious murmur of "¿Quién sabe?"

[...]

Bathed in its literature, we emerge from our odds and ends of Spanish (a language, it would seem, containing far more nouns than verbs) and very little wiser than before. A rich feast of English prose is spread in our sight; but we rise from Mr. Hudson's with a vague notion that the whole sub-continent is one vast bird sanctuary, and from Mr. Cunninghame Graham's with a livelier sense of an immense circus where Conquistadores, invariably well connected, perform feats of doubtful equitation. (16-18)

On arrival in Buenos Aires, Guedalla's attention is caught by those representatives of Argentine bureaucracy, the Customs officers, 'The dark gentlemen who had been stamping passports in the lounge all day packed up their rubber stamps and, discarding their official airs of suspicion, became quite ordinary persons in soft felt hats on the point of returning to suburban homes'. But it is Gerald Durrell who, years later, will show how the power of such civil servants has grown – and how the country of tango and ostentation has changed (Cf. pp. 222-223).

KIRKWOOD, Kenneth P. (1945) *Under Argentine Skies*

Leaving behind the great capital city, Kirkwood writes a description of the pampas, the Patagonian Andes and the North-west which is built upon the 'city

vs. nature' binary, focusing mainly on the latter by describing what had by then become favourite tourist attractions.

Going Northwest by train from Retiro station, Kirkwood marks the contrast between both realms:

From the Babylon of magnificent buildings, even of skyscrapers and the towers of Babel, from this New World Paris of dazzling fashions and splendid wealth, one passes suddenly into the elemental world of nature, passive, peaceful, permanent. (119)

The text explicitly joins the travel-writing series by quoting other writers' perceptions, as in the emblematic description of the flat pampas:

These blank spaces and waste of level *terra firma*, that seem to contain no romance and to offer no subject for rhetorical word-painting, have not failed to receive their literary tribute from every one who has written of Argentina. It almost seems as though Nature's vacuum, the great empty wastes, holds an impressive inspiration which neither the mountainous billows of massive cumulus, nor the white-crested peaks of the great spires of mountains, can command. ...

Philip Guedalla set down his thoughts on this negative topic; he saw the spaciousness of it, and the mono-chrome colouring of it, and the silence of it. Of the first, he wrote: "The world has other spaces; but I know of none that are so level. The Prairies undulate across the plains of North America; the Sahara is a dry wilderness of dead river-valleys and sand mountains; and cartographers portray the dessicated features of Arabia on crowded maps. But one could hardly map the Pampa, where there is nothing to record. Its level surface is unbroken except by things that men have made – farm-buildings, wire fences, a rare group of trees, and the undeviating railway track ruled across its endless distances. It has no secrets, since there are no folds in it where anything could be concealed." Disregarding the play of lights of the sky and the sunset and the moon or the brilliant infinite stars, he finds the level plains only variations of monochrome such as a colour-blind person might see. [...] Finally, Philip Guedalla is impressed by the absence of sound in this nepenthe-like sea of earth and grass and scrub. [...] "For though you may see for twenty miles, you cannot hear a sound. That silence is, I think, the most abiding memory of the Pampa."

Under such impressions and evocation of moods, it seems as if there is but little left to say of this empty world — empty of features, empty of colours, empty of sounds. The great emptiness would create only meditations and spiritual reveries; poetry perhaps; religious sympathies perhaps; philosophy perhaps; but

more than likely only a great loneliness and awe. Under such circumstances, every break in the eternal stillness and vastness assumes exaggerated proportions; every third dimension irregularity of the landscape is a magnified ghost; every variation of light or shadow becomes a relief; and every murmur or sharp sound becomes a disturbing interruption of the silent peace that resembles the frozen wastes of the Antarctic lands. (5.6)

Tourist discourse is reinforced by photographs of the places described, as in most works of the kind written in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and digressions on Argentine history and the history of British commercial ventures complete the expected fare of new travel writing.

DURRELL, Gerald (1956) *The Drunken Forest*.  
----- (1961 / 1975). *The Whispering Land*.

Gerald Malcolm Durrell was born in India in 1925. His parents were also born in India, of English and Irish descent. He was a naturalist and conservationist, who founded Jersey Zoo (now 'Durrell Wildlife') and what is now called the 'Durrell Wildlife Conservation Trust'. He travelled the world collecting specimens for his sanctuary and became popular as the author of a number of books based on his life as an animal collector. He visited Argentina on two occasions, which led to his writing these two books, in which animals and people are described as equally fascinating creatures.

*The Drunken Forest* opens with the usual map of the region which is part of travel writing conventions, followed by the customary chapter narrating the arrival and the first impressions of Buenos Aires harbour. But Durrell's humour and gift for caricature break with the conventions of the genre, as when he meets the British Embassy employee that welcomes them:

Picking his way disdainfully through the gesticulating, yelling, garlic-breathing mob of immigrants that thronged the deck, he arrived in

front of us, calm, unhurried, and looking so immaculate that one could hardly believe the temperature was ninety in the shade.

'I am Gibbs from the Embassy,' he announced, smiling. 'I've been looking all over First Class for you; no one told me you were travelling down here.'

'We didn't know we'd be travelling down here until we got on board,' I explained, 'but by then it was too late.'

'It must have been a rather ... er... unusual voyage for you,' said Mr Gibbs, glaring at a large Spanish peasant who had expectorated with enthusiasm within an inch of his foot, 'and rather on the moist side, I should have thought.'

I began to like Mr Gibbs tremendously.

'This is nothing,' I said airily; 'you should have been here when the weather was rough; it was positively damp then.'

Mr Gibbs shuddered delicately.

'I should imagine you will be rather glad to get ashore,' he said.

'Everything's in order, and we should have you through the Customs in next to no time.' (9-10)

In spite of the humorous tone, the passage makes it clear that the British visitors should have travelled 'First Class' rather than with people like the Spanish peasant described, which seems to reinforce the social divide among immigrants and visitors of different nationalities and social status found in Fraser and Hammerton.

But though the Customs offers no obstacle this time, it is not so when Durrell returns a few years later, and his experience opens *The Whispering Land*, where Guedalla's 'dark gentlemen' come to life (Cf. p. 219).

We were heading towards the massive building that looked like a cross between the Parthenon and the Reichstag in whose massive interior lurked the most formidable enemy of sanity and liberty in Argentina: the Aduana, or Customs. On my arrival, some three weeks earlier, they had let all my heavily dutiable articles of equipment, such as cameras, film, the Land-Rover and so on, into the country without a murmur; but for some reason known only to the Almighty and the scintillating brains in the Aduana, they had confiscated all my nets, traps, cage-fronts and other worthless but necessary items of collecting equipment. So, for the past three weeks Mercedes, Josefina and I had spent every day in the bowels of the massive Customs House, being passed from office to office with a sort of clock-work regularity which was so monotonous and so frustrating that you really began to wonder if your brain would last out the course.

[...]

'But today we are going to see Señor Garcia,' said Mercedes, with the air of one promising a sweet to a child.

I snorted. 'To the best of my knowledge we have seen at least fourteen Señor Garcias in that building in the past three weeks. The Garcias tribe treat the Customs as though it's an old family firm. I should imagine that all the baby Garcias are born with a tiny rubber stamp in their hands,' I said, warming to my work. 'As christening presents they receive faded portraits of San Martin so that when they grow up they can put it in their offices.'

'Oh, dear, I think you'd better sit in the car,' said Mercedes.

'What, and deprive me of the pleasure of continuing my genealogical investigation of the Garcia family?' (16-17)

However, if Argentine bureaucracy is discouraging and driving in the city is suicidal, Buenos Aires provides a beautiful scenario:

Buenos Aires, decked out for spring, was looking her best. The tall and elegant buildings seemed to gleam like icebergs in the sun, and the broad avenues were lined with jacaranda trees covered with a mist of mauvy blue flowers, or *palo borracho*, with their strange bottle-shaped trunks and their spindly branches starred with yellow and white flowers. The spring-like atmosphere seemed to have infected the pedestrians, who fled across the road through the traffic with even less caution than usual, while the drivers of the trams, buses and cars vied with each other in the time-honoured Buenos Aires game of seeing how close they could get to each other at the maximum speed without actually crashing. (15)

Durrell's gaze is that of a naturalist who finds evidence of natural beauty in an urban environment, enhancing the 'elegant buildings'. This gaze allows him to see human beings and animals ('bichos') as interesting 'specimens'. In both books Argentine characters from all walks of life, Anglo-Argentine or criollos, are often described with references to animals (like Mercedes's 'kingfisher's blue eyes') and animals in turn are constantly personified (penguins, for example, are 'headwaiters'). Throughout both books Gerald Durrell and his wife appear ready to learn about local cultures and enjoy diversity, showing a respectful attitude towards people and the environment.

Once in Patagonia, Durrell spends several days in Península Valdéz, a natural sanctuary, collecting specimens and, like Hudson (Cf. p. 206), looking for Indian arrowheads and harpoons on the beach. It is then that he finds 'an Indian skull that the birds must have unearthed'.

I sat down with the skull on my knee and smoked another cigarette while I contemplated it. I wondered what sort of a man this vanished Indian had been. I could imagine him, squatting on the shore, carefully and cleverly chipping minute flakes off a piece of stone to make one of the lovely arrowheads that now squeaked and chuckled in my pocket. I could imagine him, with his fine brown face and dark eyes, his hair hanging to his shoulders, his rich brown guanaco skin cloak pulled tight about him as he sat very straight on a wild unshod horse. I gazed into the empty eye sockets of the skull and wished fervently that I could have met the man who had produced anything as beautiful as those arrowheads. I wondered if I ought to take the skull back to England with me and give it a place of honour in my study, surrounded by his artistic products. But then I looked around and decided against it. ... I felt that the Indian would not mind sharing his last resting place with the creatures of what had once been his country, the penguins and the armadillos. So I dug a hole in the sand and placing the skull in it I gently covered it over. When I stood up in the rapidly gathering gloom the whole area seemed steeped in sadness, and the presence of the vanished Indians seemed very close. I could almost believe that, if I looked over my shoulder quickly, I would see one on horseback, silhouetted against the coloured sky. (*The Whispering Land*, 61-62)

According to Livon-Grosman (2001: 184, my translation) Hudson was 'the first to propose the trip to Patagonia as an introspective journey'. *Idle days in Patagonia*, 'with its reference to extinct Indians and a deserted landscape, can also be read as the product of a period in which the urgencies of the Conquest of the Desert are no longer present'. The intertextual connection between the passage above and Hudson's is evident, though not explicit. Durrell does not build his narrative upon references to previous writers, as several travel writers on Patagonia will do later (Cf. Chatwin, pp. 233-235). What is more, the passage could be taken as yet another example of a romanticised, nostalgic

view of the Indians once they do no represent any danger. However, the attitude Durrell shows towards the Indians and criollos in the North of the country is respectful and grateful. This can be seen, for example, when at the end of the book, at a cocktail party he is approached by ‘the typical Englishman that seems, like some awful weed, to flourish best in foreign climes’:

... he loomed over me, wearing, as if to irritate me still further, his old school tie.

[...]

‘I hear,’ he said condescendingly, ‘that you’ve just got back from Jujuy.’

‘Yes,’ I said shortly.

‘By train?’ he inquired, with a faint look of distaste.

‘Yes,’ I said.

‘What sort of trip down did you have?’ he asked.

‘Very nice... very pleasant,’ I said.

‘I suppose there was a very ordinary crowd of chaps on the train,’ he said commiseratingly. I looked at him, his dough-like face, his empty eyes, and I remembered my train companions: the burly young footballers who had helped me with the night watches; the old man who had recited *Martín Fierro* to me until, in self-defence, I had been forced to eat some garlic too, between the thirteenth and fourteenth stanzas; the dear old fat lady whom I had bumped into and who had fallen backwards into her basket of eggs, and who refused to let me pay for the damage because, as she explained, she had not laughed so much for years. I looked at this vapid representative of my kind, and I could not resist it.

‘Yes,’ I said sorrowfully. ‘They were a very ordinary crowd of chaps. Do you know that only a few of them wore ties, and not one of them could speak English?’

Then I left him to get myself another drink. I felt I deserved it.  
(202)

Gerald Durrell’s construction of self and other is imbued with profound empathy, and if his characterisation is caricaturesque, this applies to animals and humans alike – including himself.

Other titles that can be considered travel writing in this period include:

STEPHENS, Henry (1920). *Journeys and Experiences in Argentina, Paraguay and Chile; Including a Side Trip to the Source of the Paraguay River in the State of Matto Gross, Brazil and a Journey Across the Andes to the Rio Bambo in Peru.*

Stephens was an American Harvard graduate whose 1915-1916 trip of South America included Argentina. He writes 150 pages on the country and provides numerous photographs. He calls Buenos Aires 'the Athens of America' because of its European customs and architecture. Apart from usual features of 'costumbrismo', he describes the attitudes of wealthy cattle ranchers and the luxury of the grand hotels, adding to the representations of a prosperous Argentina exemplified by Fraser.

FRANCK, Harry A. (1921). *Working North from Patagonia; Being the Narrative of a Journey, Earned on the Way, Through Southern and Eastern South America.*

----- (1943). *Rediscovering South America; Random Wanderings from Panama to Patagonia and Back, Reviewing a Continent the Author Covered, Mainly on Foot a Generation Ago.*

Published in London in the same year as in the USA, *Working North from Patagonia* this is a sequel of *Vagabonding down the Andes*, whose writing was interrupted because of the First World War. It is significant that Patagonia is mentioned in the title, probably to attract readers interested in the mysterious region, because his focus is on Buenos Aires, its 'high life' and its 'estancieros', as well as the usual gauchesque traditions in the pampas. He also describes Rosario, Córdoba, Tucumán, Mendoza and the Andes. An outstanding feature of this work is its glossing of terms from diverse lexical fields connected with life in Argentina.

Twenty two years later, *Rediscovering South America* closes the South American trilogy by this prolific author. Based on his 1942 trip, the chapters on Argentina express very positive views of its distinctive features and focuses on

the transformations the country has undergone, especially as a result of industrialisation.

DRABBLE, D. (1934). *Passenger Ticket*.

Of Anglo-Argentine roots, Drabble highlights Buenos Aires' multiculturalism in this account of his visit.

MIKES, George (György) (1961). *Tango: A Solo Across South America*.

Humorous urban chronicles by an Anglo-Hungarian, perhaps one of the best-known observers of the English as through an outsider's eyes

URE, John (1973). *Cucumber Sandwiches in the Andes*

Sir John Ure was a British diplomat born in Scotland in 1931. He published this work when he was working at the British Embassy in Santiago de Chile. It describes the crossing of the Andes from Santiago to Mendoza. He provides excellent photographs and describes San Martín's itinerary in detail, again combining historical and tourist discourse.

FRANCE, Miranda (1998). *Bad Times in Buenos Aires*. London: Phoenix.

As the title suggests, Miranda France focuses on negative aspects, from crossed telephone wires to 'the fear of falling buttocks'. Echoing Naipaul<sup>15</sup>, she represents Argentina as a mystery. Her imagination brings together Eva Perón and Borges, 'both yearning for things they could not have' (204).

France perceives that the myth of the superiority of Britishness is still the mirror in which Argentine identity would like to see itself reflected:

After the humiliation of the World Cup ... Mariano Grondona [an influential journalist at the time], wrote that he sometimes wished Argentines were more like Anglo-Saxons. He pictured the British

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<sup>15</sup> Between 1972 and 1979, V. S. Naipaul visited Argentina and Uruguay several times. He wrote five essays for the *New York Review of Books* reflecting on these journeys, two in 1972, two in 1974, and one more in 1979. In 1980, these articles were collected, along with other pieces on the West Indies, Africa, and an essay on Conrad, and reissued in a single volume, *The Return of Eva Perón*.

drinking whisky in the evening, quietly glowing at the thought of the day's ordered accomplishments. Latins, he wrote, had a morning culture. 'We thrive on the instant magic of a new beginning, the infinite horizon of promise'.

[...]

Every morning in Argentina presented an opportunity to start afresh.

This recent example of travel writing goes beyond the utilitarian accounts of the previous century or the tourist discourse of the 20<sup>th</sup> century titles listed in this section:

... by the late twentieth century, the role of travel books has changed. They are no longer our only source for the exotic; we can see that at our own gates and in our living rooms. The new travel books are not our guides to places remote; nowhere is remote anymore. They are instead metaphors of a quest for ground zero – a place where values are discovered along the way, not imported; a place where other cultures can have their say; a place where self and other can explore each other's fictions.

(Blanton 2002: 29)

Negative though Miranda France's selection of descriptive details and anecdotes may be, her book narrates the tension inherent in the encounter between self and other, highlighting the opacity of otherness, which remains as attractive as it is inaccessible.

### 6.2.i On Patagonia

Better roads and means of transport as well as the development of an incipient tourist industry encourage more writing on Patagonia by British and American travellers. Among many titles, we can mention:

BARRETT, Katharine Ellis and Robert LeMoyné Barrett (1931). *A Yankee in Patagonia*

BARRETT, Katharine Ellis (1933). *The Trenchant Wind*

TSCHIFELY, A.F. (1940). *This Way Southward: the Account of a Journey Through Patagonia and Tierra del Fuego*

CAMPBELL, Archibald Bruce (1953). *When I was in Patagonia*.

But one of the most relevant publications in terms of this study is the book written by one of the sons of Reverend Thomas Bridges, the missionary who wrote the *Yamana-English Dictionary* (Cf. p.135).

BRIDGES, Esteban Lucas (1948). *Uttermost Part of the Earth*.

With an introduction by Tschiffely, the protagonist of Cunninghame Graham's 'Tschiffely's Ride' (Cf. pp. 159/161), the book is the memoir of Esteban Lucas Bridges's years in Tierra del Fuego. The writer had been forced to abandon Patagonia due to a heart condition and, like Hudson, wrote about days gone by, but in Buenos Aires. He died a year after the publication of the book.

The text opens with a prologue on the author's parents' arrival in the Falklands/Malvinas Islands and then in Ushuaia, Tierra del Fuego, in 1871. The book is divided into five sections: 'Ushuaia 1826-1887'; 'Harberton 1887-1889'; 'The Road to Najmishk 1900-1902'; 'A Hut in Ona-land 1902-1907' and 'The Estancia Viamonte 1907-1910'. The text is much more than an autobiography; it provides valuable historical information and, from the very first chapter, deconstructs the myths on the original inhabitants, openly refuting the representations of the Fuegians constructed by Fitz-Roy and Darwin (Cf. pp.128/132-135) and reinforced by later travel writing (Beerbohm, Dixie, Cf. pp.200-204).

The belief that the Fuegians were cannibals was not the only mistake Charles Darwin made about them. Listening to their speech, he got the impression that they were repeating the same phrases over and over again, and therefore came to the conclusion that something like one hundred words would cover the whole language. We who learned as children to speak Yahgan know that, within its own limitations, it is infinitely richer and more expressive than English or Spanish. My father's *Yahgan* (or *Yamana*)-*English Dictionary*... contains no fewer than 32,000

words and inflections, the number of which might have been gradually increased without departing from correct speech. (34)

In an informative footnote, Bridges tells the reader that

The Yahgans had, at the very least, five names for “snow”. For “beach” they had even more, depending on a variety of factors: the position of the beach in relation to that of the speaker, the direction in which it faced, whether the speaker had land or water between it and himself –and so on. Words varied with the situation of the speaker. A word used on a canoe might differ from that used to describe the same thing when the speaker was on dry land. (34-35)

He then provides an insider’s view of the elements that may have led to the misrepresentation of the Fuegians, based on cultural ignorance and misunderstanding. The text illustrates the importance of intercultural awareness to avoid reading one’s own presuppositions into the behaviour of the other and drawing the wrong conclusions from ethnographic observation:

Darwin, when he saw the poverty and filth of these people, considered that, if he had not actually found the missing link for which he sought, these Fuegians were not far removed from it. Yet they had many social customs that were strictly observed, and though lying and stealing were usual, to call a man a liar, thief or murdered was a dead insult.

Since Darwin and Fitzroy (*sic*) adopted the theory that these natives were cannibals, others have found proof to support it. For instance, one of them might discover a deserted village with signs of a huge fire having been made there, and in the long-extinguished embers find charred human bones, some possibly showing signs of having been gnawed. What better proof could be needed that the natives were cannibals? And yet the explanation may be simple. An Indian might have died in winter when the land was frozen like rock. In such circumstances his friends would have no adequate tools with which to dig a grave, and Yaghans, who lived on fish, would certainly not sink a body in the sea. They would make a great heap of firewood and burn the body with the wig-wam where the death had taken place. They would then leave the spot and avoid it as long as possible, not for fear of ghosts, but because it recalled the sad event. Foxes might be responsible for gnawing the bones.

[...]

My father tells in his journal that in periods of famine, when prolonged bad weather made fishing impossible, they ate thongs and the hide moccasins the men sometimes used in winter, but never had any of them proposed eating a human being. They would

sternly rebuke anyone who, when pressed by hunger, ate a vulture, however fat and nicely roasted, on the score that it might, at some time, have fed on a corpse. They were indignant, as I myself can testify, when others tried to induce them to join in what was, to them, such a revolting repast. For the same reason, they refused to eat fox, although it was later proved that another tribe – the Ona, or foot Indians – considered a fat fox a luxury. (35-36)

He then retells his Father's meeting with Fuegia Basket, whose husband, York Minster, has been killed. She has forgotten her English except for a few words and does not sit when given a chair, but squats next to it (84).

Esteban Lucas Bridges and his brothers explored Ona territory for the first time. Invited to live in Ona country, he starts a settlement in Part III. Part IV describes life among the Onas. In Part V, Bridges settles in his new estancia once his rights to the Najmishk land have been acknowledged by the government. Among the appendices, there is one (appendix II) on his father's dictionary, including a picture of his systematisation of the Yahgan phonetic alphabet, based on Ellis's Phonetic system.

The third 'white native' to be born in Tierra del Fuego, Bridges is one of the Anglo-Argentines who left the country during the First World War but returned after spending some years as a rancher in South Africa. A defender of the rights of the original inhabitants of his native Tierra del Fuego, a writer who chooses to write in English but is proud of his plurilingualism, Argentine-born but fighting for his father's native land in the war, a white colonist in black South Africa, Bridges is a representative of Clifford's *travelling cultures*, not only in that he is literally a traveller but in terms of his cultural displacements, of the *translation* evidenced in his work and his life. Translation is understood here as 'movement, both from one language to another and from one cultural

locus to another', as explained on pp. 13 and 14. In Clifford's words (1997: 39) quoted on p. 14:

In the kind of translation that interests me most, you learn a lot about peoples, cultures and histories different from your own, enough to begin to know what you are missing.

It is my contention that Clifford's concept applies to the intercultural encounters described in *Uttermost Part of the Earth*, a book which poses multiple taxonomic challenges. A memoir and a biography, it is also a *border narrative* in that there is actual border-crossing (Bridges is invited by the Onas to live with them) and the constant crossing of borders from Christian Britain to Fuegian ancestral culture, from Ushuaia to Port Stanley in the Malvinas/Falkands (representing 'Britain'), from Patagonia to Buenos Aires, from Argentina to the UK and South Africa, from a biographical memoir to a critical discussion of intercultural hybridity and conflict in the 'contact zone'. The adjective 'Anglo-Argentine' appears more and more narrow and less illustrative as we explore the diversity of the texts in this section of the corpus, even when applied to a writer that has traditionally been considered unmistakably 'Anglo-Argentine' by the community.

CHATWIN, Bruce (1977). *In Patagonia*.

In 1974, Chatwin left for Patagonia on a quest: finding a scrap of brontosaurus skin. His grandmother's cousin had found a brontosaurus in Tierra del Fuego and sent it to the National History Museum in the UK, but it 'arrived in London a putrefied mess' (2). Only the bones can be seen at the museum, but the sailor had sent his grandmother a piece of skin, which she promised Bruce would get when she passed away. Unfortunately, the longed-for relic was

thrown away when his grandmother died, and Chatwin had to go on a long journey to get a similar piece.

Chatwin's text is clearly integrated within a series and follows Hudson's in its soul-searching aim; however, it is not an autobiography. In Hulme's words (2002: 92) 'Chatwin has little directly to say about himself, standing firmly in the modernist tradition of authorial self-effacement'.

As Nicholas Shakespeare states in his prologue to the 2003 Penguin Classics edition,

You won't come across many Patagonian Patagonians in its pages; nor will you discover much about the author, who remains teasingly absent. "How had he travelled from here to here?" Paul Theroux wanted to know. "How had he met this or that person? Life was never so neat as Bruce made out." Nowhere, for instance, will you find details of Chatwin's arrest by the Chilean military or his seduction of the young pianist "Anselmo" – i.e., the meat and drink of travel writers like Theroux. But you will find the Patagonian origin of Coleridge's ancient mariner, Darwin's theory of evolution, Shakespeare's Caliban, Dante's Hell, Conan Doyle's Lost World, Swift's Brobdingnagians, Poe's Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym. Even the Patagonian origin of Man himself. (xv-xvi)

Nor does Shakespeare think Chatwin's book should be read simply as travel literature:

In advance of his American publication, Chatwin drafted a letter to his agent, requesting that *In Patagonia* be taken out of the travel category. [...]

His letter made clear that Chatwin had come to Argentina with a fixed idea: the Journey as metaphor, in particular Lord Raglan's paradigm of the young hero who sets off on a voyage and does battle with a monster. (xv)

Chatwin builds his Patagonia around textual references, and within travel writing on Patagonia he takes Darwin and Hudson as his antecedents to share the mystery of the effect of the environment on the human spirit, the internalisation of landscape.

The Patagonian desert is not a desert of sand or gravel, but a low thicket of grey-leaved thorns which give off a bitter smell when crushed. Unlike the deserts of Arabia it has not produced any dramatic excess of the spirit, but it does have a place in the record of human experience. Charles Darwin found its negative qualities irresistible. In summing up *The Voyage of the Beagle*, he tried, unsuccessfully, to explain why, more than any of the wonders he had seen, these 'arid wastes' had taken such firm possession of his mind.

In the 1860s W. H. Hudson came to the Río Negro looking for the migrant birds that wintered around his home in La Plata. Years later he remembered the trip through the filter of his Notting Hill boarding-house and wrote a book so quiet and sane it makes Thoreau seem a ranter. Hudson devotes a whole chapter of *Idle Days in Patagonia* to answering Mr Darwin's question, and he concludes that desert wanderers discover in themselves a primaeval calmness (known also to the simplest savage), which is perhaps the same as the Peace of God. (15)

The book is a collection of anecdotes, stories and sketches where all sorts of extraordinary characters of different origins are presented, from Robbie Ross the Scotsman, to Bolivians, Arabs and Butch Cassidy. 'Its ninety-seven short sections averaging little more than a couple of pages each, seemed finally to bring a modernist aesthetics to a fundamentally nineteenth-century genre' (Hulme 2002: 91).

He peered at me with milky blue eyes, feeling out affinities of race and background with a mixture of curiosity and pain. His name was Robbie Ross.

The other men were Latins or Indian half-breeds.

'This is an Englishman,' one of them said.

'A Scotsman,' I corrected.

'*Sí, soy Escocés,*' said Robbie Ross. He had no words of English, '*Mi patria es la Inglaterra misma.*'

For him England and Scotland were an indivisible blur. He shouldered the brunt of the hard work and was target for the others' witticisms.

'*Es borracho*' the man said. 'Is a drunk.'

Obviously the men didn't expect Robbie Ross to get mad. Obviously they had called him a drunk before. But he set his clenched fist on the table and watched his own whitening knuckles. The colour drained from his face. His lips quivered, and he lunged for the man's throat, and tried to drag him from the caravan.

The others overpowered him and he began to cry. In the night I heard him crying and in the morning he wouldn't even look at another Englishman. (78)

Many of the people Chatwin met were angry when the book was published. The Welsh, for example, took the passages written about them as an intrusion on their secluded lives, but according to Nicholas Shakespeare,

The person most upset was the daughter of the former British Consul, Tom Jones, who whenever Chatwin's name came up in the press, would fire off salvos to the letters page, listing complaints about his "disgraceful" book. Daphne Hobbs did not possess a copy of *In Patagonia*. "I would not sully my shelves" (xxii)

On the other hand, Shakespeare claims that the son of Esteban Lucas Bridges (Cf. pp. 229-232), 'David Bridges, who in the book is called Bill Phillips... observed: "If you haven't ruffled any feathers, you certainly haven't written anything worth writing"' (xxi).

In Chatwin's narrative, the characters he meets are all depicted as unique and extraordinary, just as the piece of skin he is looking for, and the reader is never sure whether the post-modern collage of events and impressions is fact or fiaction.

In Chatwin's version of Patagonia, every person drawn to that remote part of Argentina and Chile has lived a life on the borderline between wandering and collecting. From Charles Darwin, who sails off for years in the *Beagle* to collect specimens, to Charley Milward gathering mylodon skin in a cave, Patagonia attracts them. Indeed, Chatwin suggests that not only were these more traditional travelers attracted to Patagonia's blank canvas, but also writers such as Shakespeare, Coleridge and Poe were drawn to the mysterious meeting place that is Patagonia. This rather free mingling of history and literature, juxtaposing mariner's tales with Poe and Shakespeare, has a curious effect on the tone of the book. This I certainly no ordinary travel book replete with bad train trips, scurrilous guides, and sorry food. One is never quite sure, in fact, whether Chatwin has actually conjured up these incredible characters to accommodate some literary ideas of his own. (Blanton 2002: 102)

According to Shakespeare, this montage of textual references and extremely diverse people bringing their own culture to an empty land is Chatwin's achievement, neither the expected information in travel books nor autobiography.

His achievement is not to depict Patagonia as it really is, but to create a landscape called Patagonia – a new way of looking, a new aspect of the world. And in the process he reinvented himself. (xxiii)

But we do not learn much about the writer's own process of reinvention, except that he finds the pre-historic piece of skin he has come for. The book closes not with authorial closure but with the description of yet another set of extraordinary human types, this time assembled on the boat that is taking them away from the Southernmost tip of the earth, among them,

... a boy from the Falklands with a seal-skin hat and strange sharp teeth. 'Bout time the Argentines took us over,' he said. 'We're so bloody inbred.'

Five years after the book's publication, the boy's wish would come true, but not for long.

**THEROUX, Paul (1979). *The Old Patagonian Express*.**

Defined in reviews as a 'travelogue' or 'travel writing', Theroux defines the genre in the first chapter:

Travel is a vanishing act, a solitary trip down a pinched line of geography to oblivion.

[...]

But a travel book is the opposite, the loner bouncing back bigger than life to tell the story of his experiment with space. (11)

The personal encounter with space and otherness, is the focus on travel writing at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century:

As the earth's wildernesses get paved over, travel writing increasingly emphasises the inner journey, often merging imperceptively into memoir.

(Hulme 2002: 94)

But this travel book will try to answer the question the author finds is unanswered by most travel books: 'How did you get there?' And the answer in this case is 'by rail': express train, slow train, underground. However, the title is misleading: Theroux narrates his journey all the way from his home in Massachusetts to Esquel in the Patagonian Andes, so that out of twenty two chapters only the last four are about Argentina and only the last one is on the Old Patagonian Express.

More than a book about Patagonia, or even about South America, it is about trains and the people you meet on them. The landscape is seen through train windows, from stations and through the perceptions of the passengers Theroux talks to. It is hard to understand why it is often listed as a book about Patagonia, except that Patagonia is Theroux's aim, his final destination and the place he leaves the narrative at, never telling us how he gets back home.

A digression from the train journey is the chapter devoted to his visit to the blind Argentine writer Jorge Luis Borges, who asks him to visit him every night so that he reads to him. When Theroux tells the elderly writer that he is planning to go to Patagonia, Borges voices the representation of the area in terms of emptiness.

... I asked him about Patagonia.

'I have been there,' he said. 'But I don't know it well. I'll tell you this, though. It's a dreary place. A very dreary place.' (399)

...

'But one of these days I have to go to Patagonia.'

'We don't say Patagonia,' said Borges. 'We say "Chubut" or "Santa Cruz". We never say Patagonia.'

'W. H. Hudson said Patagonia.'

'What did he know? *Idle Days in Patagonia* is not a bad book, but you notice there are no people in it – only birds and flowers. That's the way it is in Patagonia. There are no people there. The trouble with Hudson was that he lied all the time. That book is full of lies. But he believed his lies, and soon he couldn't tell the difference between what was true and what was false.' Borges thought a moment, then said, 'There is nothing in Patagonia. It's not the Sahara, but it's as close as you can get to it in Argentina. No, there is nothing in Patagonia.'

If so, I thought – if there is really nothing there – then it is the perfect place to end this book. (402)

This vision is confirmed when Theroux finally arrives

It was impossible to verify the size of anything in this space. There was no path through the bushes, but I could look over them, over this ocean of thorns which looked so mild at a distance, so cruel near by, so like misshapen nose-gays close-up. It was perfectly quiet and odourless.

I knew I was nowhere, but the most surprising thing of all was that I was still in the world after all this time, on a dot at the lower part of the map. The landscape had a gaunt expression, but I could not deny that it had readable features and that I existed in it. This was a discovery – the look of it. I thought: Nowhere is a place.

[...] There were no voices here. There was this, what I saw; and, though beyond it were mountains and glaciers and albatrosses and Indians, there was nothing here to speak of, nothing to delay me further... The nothingness itself, a beginning for some intrepid traveler, was an ending for me. (429-430)

If Chatwin perceives and represents Patagonia through the voices of its diverse dwellers, Theroux reduces it to mere 'lack', as travellers had done in the 19<sup>th</sup> century – to 'nothingness itself'.

Within this series, two more recent publications have been written by women:

MACKINNON, N.B (1997/2003). *An Estancia in Patagonia*

A memoir of life in Patagonian estancias and the legends of the region.

POOL, Maggie (1997). *Where the Devil Lost his Poncho*.

Pool arrived on Argentina from England in 1945. Her text belongs to the travel writing tradition and is mostly informative, with few instances of narrative passages. It covers some background information on the family, the voyage to

Buenos Aires, the flora and fauna, and finally focuses on Patagonia. An unusual feature is Pool's expression of her voice on political issues, such as president Alfonsín's frustrated attempt to transfer the capital to Viedma, in Northern Patagonia:

Alfonsín's challenge: 'To the South, to the Sea, to the cold' caused some acute shudders among the less imaginative, more pusillanimous spirits and although the transfer was approved by Congress, it is presently shelved. (95)

as well as the Malvinas/Falklands issue:

It is a totally anachronistic dispute, a source of dismay to the many Argentines of British descent and others who admired the undoubted qualities inherent in the British tradition illustrated, for instance, by the local phrase *palabra de inglés* meaning word of honour. I must admit this is not heard any more. The nineteenth century flavour of Empire and Glory in the British attitude to the conflict is so exasperating at this period on the threshold of the twenty-first century, that a generous reaction on both sides is urgent and necessary. (35)

Pool has made Argentine Patagonia her place in the world, 'this land of mountains and lakes with its pure air and limpid waters, where we are assured that this is where Paradise used to be' (139). Hers is not the Patagonia of wind-swept pampas but the South Andean Lakeland, and any reader of her work will be tempted to visit it, and perhaps to stay.

### 6.3 Argentine stories (or set in Argentina) in English

WILSON, David Bremer ( n/d ). *Tales of the Red Earth*.

Born in Hampshire in 1907, Wilson arrived in Argentina to work for Cable and Wireless but left in 1932 to work the land in the province of Misiones and Corrientes. His *Tales* are 'sporadic pieces which he published in the Bulletin of the British Community in Buenos Aires' (Graham-Yooll, 1999: 208).

DICKINSON, Bernard *Barney* Nelson, stories for *Blackwoods* of Edinburgh between 1950 and 1980.

Dickinson was an Anglo-Argentine who farmed sheep in the mountains, joined the Royal Air Force during the Second World War, was shot down, survived and managed to escape, and returned to Patagonia, where he opened a mountain hostelry, *Arrayán*, in San Martín de los Andes. He published stories about Patagonia and the Andes for *Blackwoods* of Edinburgh for about thirty years (Graham-Yooll 1999: 208-209). He died in 1981.

MEYER, Gordon Oswald Reginald (1963). *Death in the Campo*. London: Methuen. A volume that includes three novellas ('The House of Dolls', 'Quits', and 'Death in the Campo')

According to Graham-Yooll (1999: 211), 'when Gordon Meyer died... the age of the English writer on South America, the "Southamericana" season, came to a close'.

Born in London in 1919, he met an Argentinian who was to become his second wife and this led to his first visit to Buenos Aires in 1954. As many other Englishmen before him, he thought he could make a fortune in the River Plate and settled in Buenos Aires in 1956. It was while he was staying at the *Arrayán* Hostelry in San Martín de los Andes that Barney Dickinson persuaded him to submit his own writing to *Blackwoods* as he did. As a result, he got his first story published in 1958. His novellas are set in Argentina: *The House of Dolls* in Bariloche, *Quits* in the Capital, *Death in the Campo* depicts 'camp' life.

Meyer remarried in 1964 and moved to Punta del Este, Uruguay. He then went back to Europe and his wife left him in 1967, when they reached Paris. He died of cancer a few months later in a London hospital. His death certificate, however, gives Punta del Este as his last address, which makes Graham-Yooll

wonder: 'Perhaps Meyer's problem, in the end, was one of location, of belonging: where, if not with whom?' (1999: 213). We may add that this seems to be the 'problem' with all the texts in this corpus: geographical location seems a very narrow category for a literature written by travellers who construct their identities in the process of coming into contact with other changing identities, other travelling cultures.

GRAHAM GREENE (1973). *The Honorary Consul*.

The novel is set in the town of Corrientes. A group of would-be revolutionaries who intended to kidnap the American ambassador mistakenly abduct a drunken British honorary consul who owns a small 'yerba' farm. Meanwhile, at the British embassy in Buenos Aires they wonder why no one in Argentina understands that the captive is only an 'honorary' consul and not a real diplomat, the 'honorable consul'.

The story is told mostly from the point of view of Eduardo Plarr, a doctor in Corrientes who is the son of an English-Argentine marriage. The doctor's mother, a caricature of the Anglo-Argentine lady, spends her days in Buenos Aires shopping at Harrods and eating sweets at the Richmond.

Dr Plarr had considered himself in those days quite as Spanish as his mother, while his father was very noticeably English-born. His father belonged by right, and not simply by a passport, to the legendary island of snow and fog, the country of Dickens and Conan Doyle, even though he had probably retained few genuine memories of the land he had left at the age of ten.

His father, as Dr Plarr realized much later, was an exile, and this was a continent of exiles – of Italians, of Czechs, of Poles, of Welsh, of English. When Dr Plarr as a boy read a novel of Dickens he read it as a foreigner might do, taking it all for contemporary truth for want of another evidence, like a Russian who believes that the bailiff and the coffin-maker still follow their unchanged vocations in a world where *Oliver Twist* is somewhere imprisoned in a London cellar asking for more. (2)

Graham Greene dedicated the book to his friend the Argentine writer Victoria Ocampo: 'For Victoria Ocampo with love, and in memory of the many happy weeks I have passed at San Isidro and Mar del Plata', which shows his first-hand knowledge of Argentine literary circles.

SHAKESPEARE, Nicholas (1998). 'The Princess of the Pampa'.

Nicholas Shakespeare's story is based on his personal experiences in the pampas (his father was the British Consul in Buenos Aires in the 1970s). It echoes the kind of journey of introspection constructed upon textual references that he found in Chatwin, whose influence he acknowledges in the Prologue to the 2003 edition of *In Patagonia*:

In December 1974, the 34-year old Bruce Chatwin departed Buenos Aires on the night bus south... That year, almost to the day, I left school to work as a cowhand in the Buenos Aires province. To the south, the plains spread on and on into Patagonia. I was seventeen and, of course, it scored me. With my head full of all that empty space, I returned ten months later to tiny, congested England. I instantly forgot the flies, the saddle sores, the boredom. I was desperate to go back.

Six years later, I created an opportunity and travelled through Rio Negro and Chubut to Tierra del Fuego.

[...]

One morning, in a gesture soon to be repeated by a generation of backpackers, I was waiting for a bus in the dusty scrubland west of Trelew when I dug out a book I'd brought with me, a paperback edition that today bears the creases and marginalia of three visits to Patagonia.

I'd never heard of the author [Chatwin], but this was the only contemporary book I could find about my destination. I opened the first page and I read the first paragraph and that, really, was that.

(vii)

The story shows the decay of sheep farming in Santa Cruz province as a result of the drop in wool prices caused by Australian competition. This deeply affects the way of life of lonely Anglo-Argentines whose grandparents had built a wealthy empire out of their lands in Patagonia. With touches of magic

realism, Shakespeare follows Chatwin in that he constructs the story around textual references and the plot of a Russian story actually becomes an alternative reality for the characters, an escape from the emptiness of the Patagonian pampas.

## 6.4 Contributions to the Gauchesca

### 6.4.i Translation

OWEN, Walter Hubbard. Translation into English of José Hernández's *Martín Fierro*

Walter Owen (1884-1953) was born in Glasgow and arrived in Buenos Aires in 1902. Owen published poems regularly in *The Standard* under a pen name because, according to Graham-Yooll (1999: 209),

It was a time when the British community did not consider writing, and still does not, a serious bread-winner's occupation. The books had to come from far away, so that the writer's presence would not cause embarrassment or discomfiture, which intellectuals cause at the cocktail parties of ordinary Anglo-Argentine mortals.

As a result, he is not remembered as a poet but as the translator into English of the great works of the gauchesca mentioned above. He also translated *La Araucana* (1569) by Alfonso de Ercilla y Zúñiga, Juan Ortiz de Zárate's narrative of his 16th century voyage to the River Plate, Pedro de Ona's *Arauco Domado* and Juan Castellanos's account of Sir Francis Drake's expedition to the West Indies.

Owen's considerations on translation in his 'Introduction' to the *Martín Fierro* (1933) throw light on 'the problem of wanting to express one world view through the language normally used to express another society's world views' (Kramsch, 1993: 20).

A translation, especially of verse, in order to have any value as literature, should read like an original work.

[...]

... the translation... must produce upon the consciousness of the reader an equivalent total impression to that produced by the original work upon readers in whose vernacular it was written. I have attempted in the following pages to sing Martín Fierro's song as he would have sung it if he had been able to use English with the same fluency, raciness and vigour as his native idiom. How far I have succeeded it is for others to judge.

In this translation, then, I have kept consistently to the purpose of producing a version which reads as if originally written in English, but which follows as faithfully as possible the Spanish text. (xxii-xxiii)

Owen spent the last months of his life in the British Hospital, where he worked on his translations. A 'translator' both in terms of his intellectual activity and in Clifford's sense of 'travelling' from one culture to another, Owen left us a poem about the conflicting identities of the Anglo-Argentine (quoted in Graham-Yooll 1999: 210):

Walter Owen is my name,  
Scotland is my nation,  
Glasgow was my dwelling place  
And peaceful habitation:  
Until, alas! – sad is my case,  
And great my desolation –  
I dwelt with this outlandish race,  
And here is my new station:  
The British Hospital, Buenos Aires  
Bed 9, O'Connor Ward.

#### 6.4.ii Costumbrismo

BACKHOUSE, H. (1950). *Among the Gauchos*.

Like Hudson and Cunninghame Graham before him, Backhouse looks back on the days when he travelled to Argentina as an adolescent and found work in the 'camp'. He provides a detailed costumbrist picture of Gauchos at work in estancias, highlighting their skills as horse riders and tamers, as well as those

of the original inhabitants. Backhouse provides a glossary of 'camp' terms in Spanish. The book is illustrated by 51 full-page plates.

As in other works within the Anglo-gauchesque series, several picturesque Gauchos come to life. The poems that open and close the book express the by now stereotypical nostalgia for the past life of the Gauchos. We read in the epilogue:

There was a time when I knew this land  
As the gaucho's own domain.  
With children and wife he had joy in life  
And law was kept with the ready knife –  
Far better than now. Alas, no more  
That time shall come again! (203)

And the narrator responds:

But the gaucho will live on until the last horse is dead... Pride and tradition will keep them alive. I have often heard it said, "There are no more gauchos left." The only answer to this is that the commentator has not travelled much in Argentina. The gaucho can still be found wherever there are wild horses; for he sticks to his old love, the animal that made him, and is not fickle. Although he might like to have the experience of modern benefits, in the end he goes back to Nature and her simple gifts. I have seen it a number of times, and I could take you to one or two gauchos who are living in contentment far away from towns in the old-fashioned adobe *rancho* with its rough wooden door on rawhide hinges, and not far away the hitching-post at which is tethered his waiting mount. Yet these men had known brick houses and running water and had been taken to England and America on more than one occasion, and even knew how to drive a car. But for all that with which civilization tempted them, Nature's call was the strongest. And, as I sit here and write this book, I, too, feel the longing to return to her. (203-204)

The 'nature vs. civilisation' binary is explicit, and the Gaucho is positively associated with the former, as in the work of some of Backhouse's predecessors (Hudson and Cunninghame Graham in particular). Civilisation is epitomised by England and America. In 1950, the reader may wonder whether the Gaucho who lives away from civilisation in an 'adobe *rancho*' really

chooses to do so or is forced to be marginal if he wants to keep his culture, or whether has no choice because he has not adapted to the increasingly industrialised country of the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, where cars and trucks have replaced horses except in sports and exhibitions.

#### 6.4.iii Horses

TSCHIFFELY, A.F. (1943). *The Tale of two Horses*.

The book has a preface by R.B. Cunninghame Graham, who dedicated his collection *Rodeo*, in Spanish, 'a Tschiffely, Mancha y Gato', the two Patagonian horses who achieved the 10,000 miles ride from Argentina to Washington and their rider. In the preface, Graham states that the man and his horses '... are as much part and parcel of one another, as are the three Persons of the Trinity' (9).

Tschiffely endows the two horses with human speech and has them retell the journey from their point of view. It is clear that the horses' audience is not primarily Argentinian (the book was published in London): there is a map of the American continent at the beginning of the book, showing the route, and a comparative insert with the 'approximate size of England, Wales and Scotland on the same scale' to give readers a sense of the journey in terms of their own geography.

TSCHIFFELY, A.F. (1948). *Ming and Ping*

In this children's book, illustrated in two colours, Tschiffely creates another talking animal: Ping the penguin. The author writes within the tradition of 'Southamericana', but addressing a young audience.

The people mentioned in this story are fictitious, but Indian legends, the various native tribes' customs and habits, and all other

things described in these pages represent fact, strange as it may seem. (iv)

Ming is characterized as the stereotype of the good-looking English explorer, which reinforces the already traditional role model for the young readers of the book:

Prominent cheek-bones, firm thinnish lips, a strong square jaw, and solid well-moulded ears of medium size suggested perfect health. His elegant though powerful hands betrayed that they were not familiar with rough work. A fairly abundant crop of reddish-brown hair, now tousled by the breeze, when blown back, showed a high forehead, light-coloured eyebrows and slightly concave temples. Ming wore a thin white woolen sweater, and round his neck was slung a hand-knitted scarf of the same material, the colours of which suggested that in his younger days he had been in an English Public school or a University, or possibly that he had been a member or some football or other club. A grey tweed jacket, silvery coloured corduroy trousers and heavy knob-nailed boots completed his visible attire. Thus, in short, without going into other tedious and unnecessary details, his general appearance suggested him to be about thirty-five years of age, and that he was a mixture between a man of action and a dreamer. (13-14)

Ping helps Ming through his exploration of South America, appearing out of the blue whenever the hero needs help or advice. In chapter 5, Ming visits a ranch in the pampas. Ping reappears to give him a lesson of horsemanship (54) which allows Tschiffely to write about the skill he was admired for and add some more pages in honour of the Gauchos as riders.

### 6.5 The Irish Diaspora

MacCORMACK, W. (1944). *The Kilrane Boys*. In Ranson, J. (ed.) (1948/1975). *Songs of the Wexford Coast*.

The poem, written by Walter MacCormack, a schoolmaster, in 1944, tells the story of twelve men and a woman who left County Wexford for Buenos Aires, 'the land of liberty', in April 1844. Some of the names mentioned there are carried today by families long established in Argentina (Graham-Yooll 1999:

140). Murray (2005: 179) refers to the poem as ‘an epic and rather chauvinistic ballad’. The poem blames Britain for the Irish diaspora:

Foul British laws are the whole cause of our going far away;  
From the fruits of our hard labour they defraud us here each day.

NEVIN, Kathleen (1946). *You'll Never Go Back*.

Catherine Smyth, the author's mother, left Ireland in the 1880s, and once in the River Plate she worked first in Buenos Aires and then in sheep farms. She married Tom Nevin and died in 1928. They had three children, among them Kathleen, who wrote her semi-fictional memoir probably during the first years of the twentieth century, and Maria Winifred, who finished the novel and published it in Boston in 1946.

The novel begins with the recollections of Granny Kate in her old age. Kate presents the ‘natives’ as frightening ‘others’, reminding us of Tam O’Sterling’s poem on p.146. She refers to the ‘dreadful hints’ she had heard about the natives and speaks of the ‘wild men’ on the pier (14) who take her luggage on arrival. The attitude of the community is summarised in Miss Honoria’s warning to the newcomers:

My first and last word to you must ever be: Beware of the native!  
[...] The less you have to do with them, the better. My house, it gratifies me to say, is occupied exclusively by our own people. (22).

According to Murray (2003: 67)

Kate's belief in the superiority of her culture leads her to racist views and prejudiced remarks. However, we should avoid falling in the trap of judging nineteenth century values with a twenty-first century perspective. Further than the obvious bigotry, in all these representations of the Argentines there is a fearful mind, afraid of discovering similarities with an ethnicity considered different a priori. It is fear because *they* (Argentines) are different to *us* (British), but there is the possibility of finding a correspondence.

Strangers are not defined by their own characteristics, but by the relative distance to the narrator's perspective.

In Nevin's narrative, 'home' is Ireland, that 'Ireland of the mind' Kate is told again and again she will never go back to, as the title foreshadows. Ireland becomes an 'inaginary homeland' and Kate is content just thinking she will go back some day. But as a woman, her priority is to 'settle down', that is, marry and have a family, and once this is achieved in Argentina the chances of going back become more remote. When her father dies in Ireland and she becomes engaged, Kate gradually accepts Argentina as 'home', though always within the Irish community.

In the *diasporic migration*, whether going back home is possible or not, the emigrant is willing to adapt to the new cultural space as his or her new home. In each case, memories of home will be construed in a different way. Of course this is not a bipolar scheme, and most of the emigrant experiences will demonstrate a continuum by which *home* is gradually transferred from the old to the new country (the most remarkable example of this process is Kathleen Nevin's *You'll Never Go Back*).

(Murray 2003: 80)

## 6.6 The Welsh

Although Joseph Seth Jones's diary, like Grierson's in the case of the *Symmetry* (Cf. p. 59), retells the hardships of the voyage of the first Welsh colonists to Patagonia on the *Mimosa*, the diary was written in Welsh and is now available in a bilingual Spanish-Welsh edition<sup>16</sup>, but not in English. In fact, like the Irish, the Welsh in Argentina would not accept the label 'Anglo-Argentine'. However, they are included in Graham-Yooll's book on the

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<sup>16</sup> JONES, J.S. (2004). *El diario del Mimosa*. Aberystwyth: Llyfrgell Genedlaethol Cymru. Edited and translated by Elvey MacDonald.

community, since they came from Britain, in some cases spoke (and speak) English and the criollos used to see them as ‘ingleses’.

The story of the ship that brought them to Patagonia has recently been the focus of two books by Susan Wilkinson: *Mimosa's Voyages. Official Logs, Crew Lists and Masters* and *The Mimosa: The life & times of the ship that sailed to Patagonia*: both published in 2007 by Y Lolfa, Aberystwyth, Wales.

The latter title is of interest for this research in that it tells a story of the encounter between original inhabitants and colonists in the contact zone.

More than their constant pangs of hunger and discomfort, there was the fear of Indians. The land was, or had been, Indian land, and there was fear lest the Indians would return to take it back despite the fact that Lewis Jones had insisted to the Argentine government that the Indians be compensated for the land the Welsh had been given. Garrisons and forts marked the line of scattered towns to the north of them, where Indians would descend on isolated houses or settlements, and kill the men and carry off the women and children. The Welsh had no firearms ... They had only a few work horses; and, in any case, did not know how to ride. They had no protection, and they knew themselves to be helpless should the Indians attack. Every twig that cracked, every spiral of dust seen in the distance, every yelp of a fox, they took to be signals of Indian scouts alerted to their presence. Every sudden fall off silence or cessation of birdsong threw them into panic. One day, they knew, the Indians would come. The only question was when.

[...]

The Tehuelche Indians, whom they so feared, eventually came. On April 19, 1866, at the double wedding of Edwin Cynrig Roberts and Ann Jones, and Ann's brother, Richard, to Hannah Davies, some five months after *Mimosa* sailed from New Bay, an old cacique and his wife appeared. Neither could speak the other's language, but a bond of mutual trust was formed – a bond that was unique in any previous contact between European and indigenous peoples – as a woman gave the cacique's wife her baby to hold. In time, the Tehuelche taught the Welsh to ride the horses they gave them, and traded guanaco skins, which kept them warmer than their Welsh-spun blankets, in exchange for butter and *bara* – a word which from henceforth became the Tehuelches' word for bread.

(Wilkinson, 175-176/224)

This story, which the Welsh in Patagonia have passed down from one generation to another, is celebrated in a poem by *Celia Amanda Sala Davies*

which won an award at the Mimosa Eisteddfod in Puerto Madryn, Chubut, in 2004. The writer dedicated the poem to ‘Elizabeth Adams and her daughter Mary Humphreys, chief Francisco and his Tehuelche tribe, peace makers’. It has also been adapted for children in one of the publications<sup>17</sup> included among intercultural materials in the accompanying webpage, <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=9&CategoryId=9>.

Unfortunately, the Conquest of the Desert was to put an end to the peaceful co-existence of Welsh and Tehuelches in borderland territory. Reverend Abraham Matthews, from the Welsh Patagonian community, writes:

We had gained the Indians’ trust and good will. The fact is that the Argentine government sent an army from Buenos Aires which went past Bahía Blanca and Río Negro and then down the Andes up to Santa Cruz, capturing and taking away all the Indians who gave themselves up and killing those who offered resistance, except for a small number who managed to escape. Four colonists who had gone about two hundred miles inland to explore... were attacked by a group of Indians who killed three of them brutally. [...] This alarming event is the result of the persecution suffered by the Indians that year on the part of white men, causing such hatred against the whites among them that they did not appreciate any more their old friends the Welsh.

(in Wolf 1997, my translation)<sup>18</sup>

## 6.7 The Anglo-Argentines in the Second World War

FORWOOD, William Albert (n/d). *Should I (or You) Forget*. Unpublished manuscript.

Billy Fortwood, who settled in Argentina, fought for England and wrote this memoir of his early years and his life as a soldier which never got finished or published. It was his intention to let posterity know ‘how out a small bunch of fellows in 1940 grew one of the best trained armies in the world’. Transcribing

<sup>17</sup> Published in *The Value of Diversity*, Buenos Aires: Pearson Longman, 2009.

<sup>18</sup> ‘Trágico encuentro’. In Wolf, E. (text) and Patriarca, C. (research) (1997): *La gran inmigración*. Illustrated by Daniel Rabanal. Buenos Aires: Sudamericana. Sixth edition. Quoted in González Rouco, M. *Inmigración y literatura*

hand-written manuscripts like this one and adding it to 'The Anglo-Argentine Web' is one of the many possibilities offered by the website to help the corpus grow.

### **6.8 The 1976-1982 Dictatorship**

Exile and the people gone missing during the dictatorship that ended with the South Atlantic conflict was the focus of much foreign writing on Argentina in the 1980s and 1990s.

THORNTON, Lawrence. (1987/1991). *Imagining Argentina*.

Born in California, Lawrence Thornton has written the story of a man who becomes a kind of shaman for those who are desperately looking for a relative or friend that has gone missing as a result of political persecution during the dictatorship. Carlos Rueda communicates with the missing and can foretell who will reappear or not, but he finds it much harder to connect with his missing wife. As was the case with 19<sup>th</sup> century writers on Argentina, Lawrence depicts the political scenario for foreign readers and he does so through the narration of an Argentine journalist. He resorts to Latin American magic realism to blend reality and fiction, so that the power of his imagination can console and liberate. As Amos, a holocaust survivor, tells Carlos Rueda: 'If you are forced to live in a nightmare, you survive by realizing that you can reimagine it, that some day you can return to reality' (79).

GRAHAM-YOOLL, A. (1981). *A State of Fear. Memories of Argentina's Nightmare*.

Andrew Graham-Yooll, the journalist and writer who has been a central source throughout this research, was born in Buenos Aires to a Scottish father and an

English mother in 1944. He joined the *Buenos Aires Herald* in 1966. Following the 1976 coup, Graham-Yooll and his family were in exile in London, where he stayed for 18 years. He worked for *The Daily Telegraph* (1976-77) and *The Guardian* (1977-84) and directed two magazines in London.

Back in Argentina in 1994, he was director, President of the Board and Senior Editor of the *Buenos Aires Herald* in different periods. He left in 2007 and is now a contributor to several Argentine and British newspapers and magazines. He has published about thirty books in English and Spanish. *A State of Fear*, on his experience as a journalist in Argentina in the terror years preceding the dictatorship and his exile, was first published in London in 1981 and has since then been reprinted and translated into several languages. *The Forgotten Colony*, quoted several times in this study, was originally published in London in 1981 and again in Buenos Aires in 1999.

Graham-Yooll is an Anglo-Argentine by birth but also in terms of his bilingualism and his interest in the question of identity. He has become the chronicler not only of the community but of Argentine history in English and in Spanish. His work on identity is analysed at the end of this chapter (Cf. pp. 264-269).

## 6.9 Romance

WILKINSON, Susan. (1988). *Sebastian's Pride*.

Susan Wilkinson was born in India, where her Irish father was a doctor and her grandfather an engineer with the Indian railways. Susan's family left India after Indian independence and went to Ireland. At eighteen, she left Ireland and trained as a nurse in England, then travelled to Greece, Israel, New Zealand

and South America and emigrated to Canada in 1972. In South America she worked as a secretary at the British Consulate in Buenos Aires, which gave her a chance to meet her Argentine relatives, whose ancestors had emigrated from Ireland in the 19th century. One of those ancestors was Thomas Greene, the young Irish physician who accompanied the first Welsh colonists on board the *Mimosa*. *Sebastian's Pride* is based on 'family diaries in Argentina, especially those of Robert Greene' (vii).

The novel tells the story of Sebastian Hamilton, an Englishman who emigrates to Argentina in the 19<sup>th</sup> century following his father, Robert, who left the UK after his wife's death and has become a rich landowner. It opens with the suspense typical of a detective story, as Sebastian's dead body is found lying in the pampas in 1917, dead long enough for the author to be able to provide a gory description of the feast birds of prey have enjoyed. The novel is the gradual unfolding of information to *find out who the man was*, why he was filthy and dressed as a Gaucho if he was an English landowner, why he was holding a badly made whip with an inscription in English : 'To Father, from Jack'.

Going back in time we learn that in his youth Sebastian falls in love with the pampas and with an Argentinian, Manuela Hamilton, the daughter of the Argentine woman his father has married, María. María is the only survivor of a family whose estancia was attacked by Federal soldiers in Rosas's time. Her parents were murdered and she was raped by all the soldiers. Robert Hamilton and his son William, a medical doctor, find the bleeding Maria and nurse her. Robert owns the adjoining land and, once it is evident that Maria is pregnant, offers to marry her and give her 'the protection of [his] name' (126).

What María does not suspect is that Robert Hamilton will corner the general who ‘commanded the federal platoon who had fought near by’ on the day of the murders (124) to force him to execute the men and sell him what used to be María’s land, confiscated by the federal government, for a very convenient price:

‘Correct me if I’m wrong, but had not the land and possessions of this lady’s family been confiscated and given to you by Rosas?’

‘Yes, yes. Everyone knows that. But I was not to blame for what happened.’

‘I did not say you were,’ Robert Hamilton answered smoothly, picking up the chair. ‘I am merely pointing out to you that it will be extremely embarrassing for Rosas when every paper in England publishes the fact that my wife was violated by some of his soldiers, under *your* command, and that her parents were cold-bloodedly murdered.’ (125)

María soon realises that her ‘gratitude at having her land returned to her’ is unjustified, as William explains:

‘I don’t think that you understand, María. This is Father’s land now. He did not buy it to give it to you. He wanted it because it adjoins his own. He has always wanted it. It’s land, María. Land. People don’t part with land as if it were a horse.’

María turned away feeling betrayed, here eyes empty and hard. Robert Hamilton had used her. He was no different from any other man. He had used her misfortune to his own advantage and merely did in a civilized way what others had done barbarically. (128)

Susan Wilkinson creates a very effective story to illustrate how relative the terms civilisation and barbarity can be. She also uses the events to write long digressions on Argentine history, introduced incidentally to provide background information on the events. It is clear that the book was not meant for an Argentine or Anglo-Argentine audience, and Wilkinson was amazed to find that she had so many Argentine readers even before the 1996 translation into Spanish was published. Aware of the interest her work aroused in Argentina even as she was writing, she changed the origin of the protagonist.

Her main sources were the diaries of her Irish ancestors, so that she was really telling the story of Irish immigrants who became rich landowners. However, she made Hamilton English because she could see the Irish community would take offence [personal e-mail communication, 2006].

*Sebastian's Pride* is one of the texts in the teaching experience mentioned in chapter 1 which originated this research (Cf. pp. 9-10). Some students in my class found the historical passages irritating, as they are digressions from the main story; others found them inaccurate and biased; others were interested in finding the words in English for historical events they had learnt in Spanish; others were surprised to read how others see us. None remained indifferent. What makes Argentine readers respond to this novel, at times as melodramatic as a Latin America soap opera, at times a pastiche from texts such as Hudson's works, Owen's *Martín Fierro* and Bulfin's tales? Perhaps the meticulous research it is based on. But it is my contention that the double perspective on the relationships between self and other is what makes it relevant and controversial.

On the one hand, Wilkinson constructs a realistic 19<sup>th</sup> century novel with some elements of gauchesque costumbrismo (including the usual interspersed words in Spanish) and touches of romance (Manuela dies giving birth to Jack, the son Sebastian will bring up as a Gaucho). On the other, through the gaze of specific characters and the editorial narrator's, from a 20<sup>th</sup> century post-colonial perspective she criticises the superior attitude of English settlers like Winifred, Sebastian's sister in law, who refuses to learn Spanish and 'will not tolerate a member of the family speaking that native language in [her] presence'(6). She illustrates the power of the Anglo-Argentine community during and after

Rosas's government and into the 20th century and the ways in which they gained that power. She shows how Sebastian's son, Jack, is turned into an English gentleman in a boarding school in England, forced to forget that the British Invasions of 1806 and 1806 were a failure and to believe God only listens to prayers in English. Above all, Wilkinson creates a protagonist who is a cultural hybrid which reminds us of Cunninghame Graham's *Facón Grande*, an Englishman that loses an arm in a knife fight with a Gaucho just out of pride, to defend his reputation as a rider after unfairly losing a horse race. Sebastian has the Gauchos' respect ever since, and they will be the only ones mourning him at his funeral. As the comisario (sheriff) reflects,

[Sebastian Hamilton] was certainly not a gaucho, although he had been a superb horseman and had worn gaucho clothes. To call him an Englishman did not give the right impression of him either, for, although he had been born in that country, he had long rejected it as his own. What was he, then? He wondered. Englishman? Gaucho? Drunkard? Seducer of women? Sebastian Hamilton was all of these, yet no one label fitted. (13)

MONTEFIORE, Santa (2001). *Meet Me Under the Ombú Tree*.

Santa was born in England in 1970 to an Anglo-Argentine mother. She taught English in an Argentine estancia for a year and then she returned and spent much of the 1990s in Buenos Aires. Based in London with her husband, the writer Simon Sebag Montefiore, she wrote this romance of 520 pages based on her memories of life in the estancia of the wealthy Soldati family. Advertised in the dust jacket as 'A sweeping epic of forbidden love', the novel combines elements of the Victorian novel and Latin America soap opera (passion in exotic landscapes, forbidden love, exile), but is also the protagonist's journey in search of identity when she returns to the 'camp' from the UK twenty four years later.

The book opens with the customary description of the pampas and focuses on the ombú tree in the title. As usual, the ombú is associated with legend, but instead of being connected with death as in Hudson and Cunninghame Graham, it is a magic tree:

When I close my eyes I see the flat, fertile plains of the Argentine *pampa*. It is like no other place on earth. The vast horizon stretches out for miles and miles – we used to sit at the top of the ombu tree and watch the sun disappear behind it, flooding the plains with honey.

[...]

My grandfather, Dermot O'Dwyer, never did believe in the magic of the ombu tree. That's not to say he wasn't superstitious, he used to hide his liquor in a different place every night to fool the leprechauns. But he just didn't see how a tree could possess any kind of power. 'A tree is a tree,' he'd say in his Irish drawl, 'and that's all there is to it.' But he wasn't made from Argentine soil; like his daughter, my mother, they were aliens and never did fit in. (1)

From the very first page 'fitting in', adapting to another culture, is thematised, and if Sofia must make a choice at the end between her husband and family in England and the passionate love she once left behind and has recovered, she must also choose between Argentina and England.

They said the ombu tree wouldn't grow in England. But I chose a place in our garden in Gloucestershire where the sun would set behind it and planted it all the same. It grew.

Like the tree, the exile needs to adapt and 'grow' in the new environment.

#### 6.10 Argentine Poetry in English, Poetry in English about Argentina

**BORGES, Jorge Luis (1964). 'Two English poems'. In *El Otro, el mismo*.**

Jorge Francisco Isidoro Luis Borges Acevedo, known as Jorge Luis Borges, was born in Buenos Aires in 1899. In 1914, his family moved to Switzerland. Borges's mother, Leonor Acevedo Suárez, came from a traditional Uruguayan family. His 1929 book *Cuaderno San Martín* included a poem, 'Isidoro

Acevedo', in honour of his maternal grandfather, Isidoro de Acevedo Laprida, a soldier of the Buenos Aires Army who fought with the Unitarians against Rosas. As his paternal grandmother was English, both English and Spanish were spoken at the Borges home. Borges was bilingual from an early age and was reading Shakespeare in English at the age of twelve. The family lived in a large house where there was an English library of over one thousand volumes and Borges would later remark: 'if I were asked to name the chief event in my life, I should say my father's library'<sup>19</sup>.

On his return to Argentina in 1921, Borges started publishing his poems and essays in surrealist literary journals. He also worked as a librarian and lecturer. In 1955 he was appointed director of the National Public Library (*Biblioteca Nacional*). In 1961 he received the first International Publishers' Prize, the *Prix Formentor*. Since then, his work has been translated and published widely. He died in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1986.

In spite of his bilingualism, only two of his poems were written in English and are called, precisely, 'Two English Poems'. Many of his essays and poems have titles in English, but Borges chose to write in Spanish in spite of his plurilingualism and his passion for English Literature and for everything English, as he describes in one of his conversations with Paul Theroux:

'I don't hate the Spanish. Although I much prefer the English. After I lost my sight in 1955 I decided to do something altogether new. So I learned Anglo-Saxon....'

[...]

'The English are wonderful people. But timid. They didn't want an empire. It was forced upon them by the French and the Spanish. And so they had their empire. It was a great thing, eh?'

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<sup>19</sup> Borges, Jorge Luis, 'Autobiographical Notes', *The New Yorker*, 19 September 1970, in <http://www.mundoandino.com/Argentina/Jorge-Luis-Borges>

They left so much behind. Look what they gave India – Kipling!  
One of the greatest writers.'

(*The Old Patagonian Express*, 390)

The 'Two English poems' are a sample of Borges's ghosts and uncertainties, of the 'travelling identities' announced in the title of the collection: *El otro, el mismo* (*The Other, the Same*). Addressed to a wanted other ('I must get at you, somehow' -poem I; 'What shall I hold you with?' - poem II), the suburbs of Buenos Aires, omnipresent in his work, offer both a setting and company.

'The useless dawn finds me in a deserted streetcorner; I have  
outlived the night' (poem I)

But if that 'deserted streetcorner' could be anywhere, poem II is unmistakably  
Argentinian,

I offer you my ancestors, my dead men, the ghosts  
that living men have honoured in bronze: my father's  
father killed in the frontier of Buenos Aires,  
two bullets through his lungs, bearded and dead,  
wrapped by his soldiers in the hide of a cow; my  
mother's grandfather – just twenty four – heading  
a charge of three hundred men in Peru, now  
ghosts on vanished horses.

The frontier, the civil war, the liberation of Peru by the Argentine army, the jagged suburbs in whose corners the 'cuchilleros' lurk all meet in the world he has to offer –and though this constructs his identity, it is expressed in English, the language of those ancestors *not* mentioned in this poem. Borges's work as a whole defies national labels, blends traditions, fictions and facts, books and stories outside books. Anglo-Argentine in terms of ancestry, European in background and choice of genres, Borges writes in Spanish, often with English titles, and Buenos Aires is a recurrent, painful presence no matter where he is

writing or who he is addressing. Not a literature of third places but of many places, all blended into a hybrid which is profoundly 'porteño'.

SHAND, William (1942). <i>Dead Season's Heritage</i> .
----- (1978). <i>Select Poems</i> .
----- (1981a.) <i>Poemas</i> , bilingual edition.
----- (1981b). <i>Nine Poems</i> , bilingual edition.
----- (1985). <i>Collected Poems</i> .

Shand was born in Glasgow, Scotland, to English parents who were based in London, in 1911. He travelled to Buenos Aires in 1938, where he published his first book in 1942, with an introduction by Borges. He became well known as a translator of Argentine poetry into English and British and American poetry into Spanish. Unlike other English writers overseas, he wrote most his fiction and plays in Spanish (except for *The Blind Warrior*) and, unlike other Anglo-Argentines, he is an 'urban' writer who does not write about 'camp' life. He wrote poetry only in English, and his works have been translated into Spanish and published in collections: *Poemas (1984-1987)*, translated into Spanish by Elizabeth Azcona Cranwell; *Poemas 1988-1992* and *Poemas 1993-1995*, translated into Spanish by Rolando Costa Picazo.

His work in English cannot be classified as Southamericana: he presents poetry as 'a defence against the dubious contracts of life'<sup>20</sup>, consciously accepting the dangers of living. One poem does focus on that locus which haunts foreign writers on Argentina: 'The Pampa', but in Shand's gaze the experience of vastness, 'a kind of science-fiction', becomes metaphysical in its implications:

The pampa is never ending.  
Towns, mountains, rivers,  
hills, oceans, jungles,  
become inconceivable.  
[...]

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<sup>20</sup> My translation of Elizabeth's Azcona Cranwell's phrase in the prologue to *Poemas (1984-1987)*

Sky and pampa urge  
a questioning of your structures,  
a revision of the values  
you considered infallible;  
stress the vacuity  
of failing yesterdays.

You look at yourself  
and wonder what you are,  
deranged in that treeless plain.  
The past is cancelled out,  
but now is not the present.  
Time there, is devoid of logic.

BURNSIDE, John (2004). *In Argentina: four poems.*

During a visit to Argentina organised by the British Council for the *Words on Words* programme, the Scottish poet and fiction writer John Burnside started a suite of four poems based on three Argentine musical styles.

- I 'Plaza San Martín' (Tango)
- II 'Una canción en la niebla' (Milonga)
- III 'Near the Plaza de Mayo' (Tango)
- IV 'The Argentine Skunk' (Chamamé)

When he finished them, he sent them to the British Council, who sent them to participants in the programme with the following message: *'I finally finished the suite of poems I started when I was travelling around on my last visit to Argentina. Here it is - Argentine songs, in my manner -'* John

The rhythm of the four poems captures that of the musical forms they are based on. Although there is no reference to Argentina in the second poem, the reflection on 'what we mean when we talk about love' could in fact be set to music as a 'milonga', both in content and poetic form, though written in English.

The stereotypical representations of the country are contrasted with the persona's experience, and, as in Shand, this experience leads to a metaphysical level of reflection, as in this extract from 'Plaza San Martín' (Tango):

I keep coming back  
to the city I know from a dream:

no one at all on the street  
and the land all around

haunted by winds  
and the silt-coloured murmur

of gauchos.

Mostly, it's not like that  
- there are people and buildings

women with flames in their eyes  
and a river of boys

hoping for something more  
than manhood  
- a tango, say,

a dance they can sift from the night  
or a song in the blood

that others could see  
in the slow work we make

of a lifetime.

Other poets who can be included in the corpus are:

MORGAN, Patrick (1996): *Selected Poems, 1960-1990*.

Poems published in the *Buenos Aires Herald*.

LITTLETON, Sue (2001) *Kite Paper*.  
----- (2004) *Corn Woman*.  
----- (1989/ 2007) *Images*.  
----- (1999/ 2010) *Mélange*.

Littleton was born in Texas but is based in Argentina. She writes poems in English and in Spanish. The collections of poems listed are all bilingual

editions, when there are two dates the latter indicates the bilingual edition of an original version in Spanish.

### **6.11 FOCUS TEXT: *Se Habla Spanglés*. Graham-Yooll and the question of Anglo-Argentine identity**

Andrew Graham-Yooll's life has been 'Anglo-Argentine' in many ways. Born in Argentina of British parents, he joined the *Buenos Aires Herald* when he was only 22 'to learn how to write'<sup>21</sup>, as he had received no formal training. His forced exile in 1976 meant 18 years in Britain, working for the British press. Although he has been back since 1994, he still finds it more comfortable to write in English 'although it's self defeating, because it becomes rusty very quickly'. He keeps in regular contact with his sister and children in the UK, reads avidly and publishes in both languages, so his bilingualism is anything but 'rusty'.

His book *Point of Arrival. Observations Made on an Extended Visit (to Britain)* (1992) reflects on Britain, on being very angry and wanting to leave, on being a visitor, on belonging, on travelling. *Goodbye Buenos Aires* (1999) (which sold out in England and was published in Spanish two years earlier) is 'a son's attempt to recreate his father', who died when he was nineteen. Yooll also remembers his father in a poem written in Acassuso, Buenos Aires, on 13 July 1969, six years after his father's death, which is part of the *Day by Day* collection (included in *Se Habla Spanglés*, new edition, p. 85).

I remember my father, try to forget him  
By recalling better days.

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<sup>21</sup> Unless another source is specified, the quotations from Graham-Yooll belong to a personal interview on August 17, 2010 in Buenos Aires, which he called a "session in Spanglés," in his patio in Barracas, Buenos Aires

I hate him for the humiliation,  
When I besought him at the bar, to find other ways.  
I shiver and feel it is part of that past right now:  
Dragged him through unlit streets, heard him mutter,  
Pleaded with people not to stare  
But help me carry him, when he rolled in the gutter.  
Trembling, saw him fall in to the empty bath,  
Watched him come up with a bloody face.  
People say, do not think of your dead father that way;  
Just dream of him in another place.

(In memory of Douglas Noel Graham-Yooll, d. 13-3-63)

‘Everything I have ever written has to do with my immediate environment,’ he asserts, and then wonders whether ‘Anglo-Argie social group’ is the right label for that environment. It is in his poetry that his ‘double-barrel identity’ becomes playfully expressed though code-switching, in ‘Spanglés’. ‘Spanglés,’ he admits, may be ‘a lazy resource, but I think it is a way of being faithful to my two cultures’ (in Libedinsky 1998, my translation).

The collections *Se Habla Spanglés* and *Day to Day*, published in the early 1970s, were ‘exotic in the swinging London sort of way’. They were reprinted as one book in Buenos Aires in 1998, and this is the edition used in this section.

This is how you do ‘Las cosas en Spanglés’ (‘Things in Spanglish’) according to the poem that closes the first collection (p. 78).

Con un poco  
of the castellano  
y otro tanto del  
speak in English,  
se obtienen cosas en  
spanglés.  
Aunque la academia  
no lo aprecie,  
esto no es bastardo y se usa;  
es puro por cruza:  
la comunidad lo produjo  
aunque el americano lo introdujo  
mediante cursos  
de empresarios

y becas para operarios.  
El spanglés  
has the great advantage  
de ser una contribución  
towards overcoming great barriers  
y ayudar a los analistas  
a establecer la incomunicación.

Yooll states that Spanglés is actually used and was produced by ‘the community’, though, not without cynicism he clarifies that ‘the American introduced it by means of corporate courses and scholarships for workers’ and concludes that ‘Spanglish has the great advantage of contributing towards overcoming great barriers and helping analysts establish incommunication’.

When asked whether he perceives a pattern in the way he code-switches, whether there is any criterion he follows, he says he just lets it flow naturally as he does in conversation (and this is confirmed by the interview in Spanglés from which most of his comments have been quoted, comments which had to be partially translated to become ‘quotable’).

In ‘Made In...’, Yooll uses ‘Spanglés’ to express a highly critical view of the average Argentinian’s admiration for whatever comes from abroad. If no translation of either language is provided, the point the poem makes is still clear and emphatic: ‘Foreign is best’. The representations constructed from the early days of travel writing are now inscribed in (Anglo-)Argentine culture: Europeans work harder, in Argentina everyone is indolent (‘unos vagos’), foreign products are made to last, Argentinians would work harder if they were a European colony.

Es mejor,  
naturalmente:  
lo importado  
they can make it better;  
We have never bothered,  
Of course;

Foreign is best.  
Es otra mentalidad,  
aquí sólo importa  
el vino;  
unos vagos.  
They think more,  
Those Europeans.  
Much better,  
of course.  
Trabajan más;  
nosotros  
lo podríamos hacer  
pero aquí  
Nobody wants  
To work.  
Qué fabricación  
la extranjera,  
dura toda  
la vida;  
My father used it  
My granddad too.

Tanto mejor  
lo importado,  
que ya no se consigue.  
Si fuésemos  
colonia europea  
viera usted  
cómo trabajaríamos.  
No,  
thank you very much.

In another poem, this time completely in English except for the title (perhaps because it was originally published in the *Daily Telegraph* magazine) he lists the stereotypical representations in the collective imaginary of tourists, and in a cynical counterpoint (thus 'Contratango') blends his views with a parodic version of the Lord's Prayer in which the USA is 'God':

Do you remember, Micaela, when the tourists flew in  
and called us underdeveloped;  
with knitted brows told of their concern,  
said our wine was like heaven  
but our politics were hell  
and the natives weren't friendly or grateful.  
Our Father which art in Washington, Hallowed be thy aid;  
It was then that we read about their new campaign

to stop children taking drugs,  
black air and students acting like thugs;  
we were guests of a full-page advert in May  
that laid claim to our miserable earnings:  
"This year, visit the U.S.A."

Thy Marines come;

Thy will be done; in earth as it is in business.

[...]

They said our public toilets stink,  
our trains are unclean and the fashions uncertain;  
their women wore big slacks in all shades of pink  
that wobbled indecently  
in our small catholic towns;  
they said underdevelopment kept us down.

The power and the story, Forever and never. Amen.

(*Day to Day*, in *Se Hablá Spanglés*: 88-89)

Another writer who code-switches in a similar way, alternating phrases in Spanish and in English, is Johane Flint Taylor, based in New Jersey, USA. We find a similar counterpoint in 'Argentine Memory', this time between the evocation in English and the flashes of memories in Spanish:

... the way the sweet smell of  
orange trees in the rain  
still mingles with the fumes of  
*desinfectante* and wafts  
over the iron brige  
built by the British (*en la estación Borges*)  
spur my soul (*mi alma*)  
to soar  
like the hawk above the distant wood –  
*alta en el cielo un águila guerrera.*

The phrases in Spanish are italicised and so clearly separated from the rest. They sometimes clarify or specify, but sometimes they are voices from the past, as is the case of the last line, which is a line from a patriotic song children sing at school in honour of the Argentine flag, especially when the flag is being hoisted. The very British hawk in the last line but one is contrasted with the eagle, which is a symbol of the Argentine flag.

We may wonder at this point who is the target public of texts in Spanglés. They presuppose a bilingual audience, but also one acquainted with the cultural referents that the text does not transpose from one culture to another, a readership capable of that 'translation' which the text does not put into practice, a translation from one country to another, from one culture to another. Kramersch would call it a language and literature of 'third places', but the location seems too rigid. It is, rather, a 'locus of hybridity' in Bhabha's terms (Cf. p.43), which reveals

the ambivalence at the source of traditional discourses on authority and enables a form of subversion, founded on that uncertainty, that turns the discursive conditions of dominance into the grounds of intervention.

(Bhabha 1985 in Ashcroft et al. 2006: 42 / 43)

If Spanish is the official language of Argentina, Spanglés subverts its authority. If English is the language of globalisation, Spanglés localises its use. It reveals 'the dynamics of creole self-fashioning' which Pratt (1993:4) identifies as instances of *transculturation*.

We may also wonder whether Spanglés is a borderland identity strategy as Chicano English is in the Mexican-American border, one which belongs exclusively to the Anglo-Argentine community. These reflections take us back to the Anglo-Argentine corpus as a whole and to examine the appropriacy of the term 'Anglo-Argentine' and the definition proposed at the beginning of this study.

## 7. Anglo-Argentine literature: A meeting place for travelling identities

### 7.1 Subverting taxonomies

It is now time to go back to the central questions that led to this research. The first one concerns the definition of Anglo-Argentine literature and the inclusion and exclusion criteria derived from it. Susan Wilkinson's *Sebastian's Pride* illustrates the issues involved.

Graham-Yooll does not include Susan Wilkinson among Anglo-Argentine writers in *The Forgotten Colony* (1999), perhaps because the first edition of his book was published in 1981 and *Sebastian's Pride* was not published until 1988. In his 2010 list (Cf. p. 36), Yooll adds her work as editor of Bulfin's *Tales of the Pampas* and her book on the *Mimosa*, but not *Sebastian's Pride*. When asked why at the personal interview quoted in chapter 6 (pp. 263-264), the difficulty in defining Anglo-Argentine literature became clear:

A lady once asked me why I had omitted Susan, and she was right. The thing is, Susan was always writing from the outside looking in. But she has moved the goalpost a little. For example, her book on Bulfin meant a lot of research *here* [in Buenos Aires]. And then the book on the *Mimosa*... It's interesting to see how she is recovering her bonds with Argentina. But you see, Santa Montefiore is more valid as an example of Anglo-Argentine writing because she is the daughter of an Anglo-Argentine, she lived in an estancia. Well, you can alter your view as time passes and information gathers. Why include Gordon Meyer, for example? Because he started writing in Argentina, most of his writing is on Argentina, he lived here.

[personal interview, August 17, 2010]

Graham-Yooll speaks as a member of the Anglo-Argentine community. Including a writer on his list means accepting s/he is 'one of us'. To be an 'Anglo-Argie' you need the two criteria Santa Montefiore meets: having Anglo(-Argentine) ancestry and having lived in Argentina, writing '*here*'. Then why is Chatwin, who can be considered a mere 'visitor', included on his

list? Besides, why does Susan Wilkinson's *Mimosa* meet the requirements and *Sebastian's Pride* does not? Graham-Yooll's argument based on ancestry and geography appears inconsistent and also too restrictive.

Susan Wilkinson is a clear representative of the *travelling cultures* Clifford describes: born in India, she lived in Ireland, travelled to Greece, Israel, New Zealand and South America and emigrated to Canada. She has *travelled* in the usual sense of the word, but she has also *moved* between cultures, in a *translation* in which 'you learn a lot about peoples, cultures and histories different from your own, enough to begin to know what you are missing' (Clifford 1997: 39). Perhaps this sense of what she was missing brought her to Argentina to recover the story of her ancestors and she was able to write *Sebastian's Pride*. Learning about Thomas Greene, the Irish physician who accompanied the first Welsh colonists on board the *Mimosa*, led to her latest book. There is Irish-Argentine blood in her, but how Anglo-Argentine has she become after creating Sebastian Hamilton? How Welsh-Argentine after her research on the *Mimosa*?

Just as the label 'English literature' has been questioned in the light of post-colonial literatures and 'world englishes' has been proposed instead, in an increasingly globalised and interconnected world, where those in Kachru's 'expanding circle' (Cf. pp. 40 - 41) may be 'expert users' of English as a lingua franca, where you can travel virtually without ever moving from your seat and the language of the virtual world is mostly English, identity categories based on geography and ancestry are obsolete. Graham-Yooll may be right in affirming that 'travel literature is dead' – the concept of 'travelling' has

changed, we 'navigate' the web, we 'are' on Facebook, we 'visit' sites. Travel writing is alive and well, but in a different sense.

The examples of Anglo-Argentine travel writing discussed in chapter 4 are structured upon the civilisation vs. barbarism binary. As the concept 'civilised' was constructed as synonymous with 'British', the Argentine creole elite, who aimed at 'civilising' the country by controlling Indians and Gauchos alike and made the 'gauchesca' the foundational canon of Argentine literature, appropriated Anglo-Argentine authors who were connected with 'camp' life, making them part of the gauchesca, 'gauchos gringos' longing for a past of wild horses and contact with nature that their estancias and barbed wire fences had contributed to destroying. Critics and writers made Hudson and Cunninghame Graham the 'canon' of Anglo-Argentine literature because their writing supported their political and educational project.

This study, perhaps controversially, proposes a much broader corpus to open the spectrum of representations of Argentina from Fraser's propagandistic discourse to Hammerton's xenophobia, from Durrell's empathy to France's awareness of frustration. Rather than build a canon, this compilation intends to invite readers to explore multiple perspectives, to contrast Nevin's horror of 'natives' with Wilkinson's critical presentation of the 'English gentleman'.

## **7.2 Spanglish. Spanglés, English or Spanish?**

The second central issue derived from the research is the question of language choice. More and more Argentinians are writing in English (or some form of

'Spanglish') although they do not have Anglo-Argentine ancestors, and in some cases no direct experience of English-speaking countries.

Ignacio Karacsonyi, the young son of a translator based in Buenos Aires, code-switches by alternating the two languages in complete sentences. This is part of his unpublished sketch about waking up:

Four by five, sensory check

El espejo hace mueca de sonrisa mal aliento, parpadea ojos preguntones y divertidos.

All is white! The ceramic tiles on the walls, the towel, the soap and the shampoo, all blank pages to write upon.

When asked why he writes mixing two languages he says he 'can't help it'.

Although he was not brought up in a bilingual home, his mother's bilingualism has influenced him. Above all he says he 'writes and reads in English on the web' and images come to him in either language [personal interview, 3 February, 2010].

Darío Banegas is a teacher of English and teacher trainer based in Patagonia.

He has done post-graduate studies in the UK and his writing shows the impact of his contact with 'English language and culture', as in this unpublished story,

'James I'

James I duerme y sus pies delgados y blancos point up to the sky, a sky that refuses to show its true colours. When will you stop being so dull, solitary sky? ¿Cuándo te decidirás a ganarte el afecto del monarca y regalarle una noche-mañana de gloria? ¿Cuándo evitarás que los cielos de Grecia y Los Ángeles tengan que cumplir los deseos de su majestad? When will the King, James I, see my humble face looking down as a sign of devotion, of loyalty, of numberless hopes, and discover that the Northern Star can also be in the South?

Still, the content of these young peoples' work is not necessarily 'Argentine', which defies the 'Anglo-Argentine' label as much as William Shand's poetry.

One of my own poems, 'Digging', on my father burying our books during the

dictatorship, mysteriously ‘came’ to me in English. Thanks to its being written in English, the poem has been published both in print and on the web, where it has been read by people like myself whose mother tongue is not English.<sup>22</sup> It is perhaps the only poem I have ever written explicitly on Argentine reality and perhaps I needed to write it in English because the mask of a foreign language *allowed me to recover from memory a very painful experience.*

On the other hand, Juan José Delaney, of Irish-Argentine stock, novelist and Professor of Irish literature, writes only in Spanish, even though a good part of his production is dedicated to the Irish diaspora. When asked why in a personal interview, he said it was only due to ‘practical reasons’: he publishes in Argentina. But then he said: ‘On second thoughts, today geography does not matter, I could publish anywhere electronically’ [personal interview August 26, 2010].

Eileen Noble is writing a novel on her ancestor, Jane Robson, the author of *Faith Hard Tried*, and she is doing it in Spanish, although she is a teacher of English:

I remember my grandfather telling me stories about Granny Robson, of how scared he was of her. And my father always told me that I was like her in many ways, so she was someone I have always been interested about (*sic*). I don’t think it was because she was Scottish but because of her hard life and the fact that she “wrote” about it.

I am very proud of being an Argentinian. Spanish is my first language, it is the language in which I think, dream, talk and write. I am also proud of my Scottish origins, so much in fact, that I cannot make the characters in my novel bad because they are Scottish. Even though there is nothing to hide, their life experience is something to be only proud of; when I have to make things up I always believe the best in them.

[e-mail communication, September 11, 2010]

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<sup>22</sup> <http://wordpowered.org/files/digging.pdf>

It seems that choosing Spanish is a way of reaffirming Argentine identity for the Anglo-Argentines, whereas Argentinian writers can explore the instrumental value of English from a cosmopolitan perspective.

### 7.3 Re-defining Anglo-Argentine Literature

In the light of the 'transnational', interconnected scenario of our times, where all identity can only be 'translated and multilocalized' (Mellino 2008: 185), the labels 'Anglo' and 'Argentine' appear too narrow and ambiguous to describe the multiple identities represented in the texts published in the last forty years. Just as national boundaries can be crossed on a plane, on a mobile phone, on a netbook, the 'cultures' we belong to have become a border territory that is constantly crossed, with 'Everyone more or less permanently in transit... Not so much "Where are you from?" as "Where are you between?"' (Clifford 1997: 37).

The definition of Anglo-Argentine literature proposed in chapter 2 needs to be adjusted to include 19<sup>th</sup> century travel writing as much as the production of Argentinians writing in English today, a continuum of fluid instances of hybridity, a subversion of the binary implied by the adjective 'Anglo-Argentine' that embraces *travelling identities* in constant process of construction in contact with otherness. **'Anglo-Argentine literature' is therefore redefined as a *fluid third place* where *travelling identities* meet and where the word 'Anglo' refers to the English language, used as the medium of expression to write factual or fictional accounts *on or from* Argentina, irrespective of the national origin of the writer.**

The definition restricts the list of works to what is produced in *English* because of the pedagogic aim the corpus has been selected for, but it may be extended in future to include the production of writers like Juan José Delaney. The flexible nature of hypertext will allow this within the webpage, which may become a showcase for unpublished writers.

### **7.3 Suggestion for further study**

The number of writers and texts that have been listed but not discussed, the work done with Anglo-Argentine texts in different classes which has not been analysed, the issues that have been raised in the analysis that need further study, all suggest that this compilation is just the beginning of a number of possibilities for further research and pedagogic practice.

Further developments may include:

- Designing materials based on Anglo-Argentine literature aimed at critical reading and intercultural awareness-raising in English language and literature classes. Sample activities, both published and unpublished, are available on the website, and more are being added regularly: click on “Intercultural Activities” on the home page or visit <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=9&CategoryId=9>.
- Proposing a model for the use of an intercultural approach in English language and literature teaching which, though based on local experience, can prove thought-provoking and useful in diverse contexts. Some ideas in this respect derived from this thesis can be read in the introduction to the webpage mentioned in the previous point.

- Analysing and publishing the results of the classroom research already carried out (described in chapter 1, pp. 8-9). The worksheets and questionnaires used can be accessed among the sample activities on the webpage mentioned above.
- Implementing action research projects to identify areas of resistance and find ways to implement change in the selection of literary texts for the training of teachers and translators in Argentina.
- Studying specific texts and authors in detail and making the material available on the Anglo-Argentine web. Several articles are already available on the website under 'Anglo-Argentine Corpus' at <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=2&CategoryId=2> as well as under 'Critical Analysis', available at <http://www.claudiaferradas.net/index2.php?ArticleId=23&CategoryId=12>.
- Compiling an anthology of Anglo-Argentine poetry and publishing it on the website (or in print).
- A more ambitious project involving digital versions of the texts listed and the creation of a digital Anglo-Argentine corpus which could be analysed using a concordancer to find recurrent patterns, such as what adjectives are used with the terms 'Indian' and 'Gaicho' to draw conclusions on the relation between lexical choice and representations.

Most of the projects outlined above involve post-doctoral research grants or finding funding within research programmes in the institutions involved. Given the implementation difficulties such projects imply, especially in an Argentine

context, the website offers an alternative to make findings available to teachers and support conference presentations on related topics. The enthusiasm already shown by English teachers in conferences in various parts of Colombia and Argentina suggests that the materials and the strategies proposed can prove useful in different contexts.

In the travelling nature of research, every point of arrival becomes a new point of departure. Having followed so many travellers in the course of this study, it is encouraging to feel the urge to go further – but, as convention demands, have a good rest first.

## 8. Bibliography

### 8.1 Anglo-Argentine Literature Reading List

N.B.: The authors marked with a ✓ have not been included either in Prieto's list or in Graham-Yooll's.

The texts are listed by author, in alphabetical order.

Only works whose content is at least partially related to Argentina have been listed.

A proposed classification of these texts into different series can be found in chapters 4, 5 & 6.

ANDREWS, J. (1827). *Journey from Buenos Ayres Through the Provinces of Cordova, Tucuman and Salta to Potosi. Thence by the Deserts of Caranja to Africa, and Subsequently to Santiago de Chile and Coquimbo*. 2 vols. London: John Murray. / (1971) New York: AMS Press.

AN ENGLISHMAN (1825). *A Five Year's Residence in Buenos Ayres During the Years 1820 to 1825*. London: G.Herbert.

✓ BACKHOUSE, H. (1950). *Among the Gauchos*. London: Jarrolds.

✓ BARCLAY W. S. (1904/1926). *The Land of Magellan*. London: Methuen & Co.

✓ BARRETT, K.E. (1933). *The Trenchant Wind*. Cambridge: Heffer.

✓ BARRETT, K. E. & R. LEMOYNE BARRETT (1931). *A Yankee in Patagonia: Edward Chace*. Cambridge: Heffer.

BEAUMONT, J.A.B. (1828). *Travels in Buenos Ayres, and the Adjacent provinces of the Rio de la Plata*. London: unspecified publisher.

✓ BEERBOHM, J. (1881). *Wanderings in Patagonia, or, Life among the Ostrich Hunters*. London: Chatto & Windus.

✓ BINGHAM, H. (1911). *Across South America; an Account of a Journey from Buenos Aires to Lima by Way of Potosi, with notes on Brazil, Argentina, Bolivia, Chile and Peru*. Boston/New York: Houghton Mifflin Company.

✓ BORGES, J.L. (1964). 'Two English poems'. In *El Otro, el mismo, Obra Poética 1923-1964* (1982). Buenos Aires: Emecé: 262.

✓ BOYLE, V. (ed.) (1999). *A South American Adventure. Letters from George Reid 1867 - 1870*. London: Self-published.

BRAND, C. (1828). *Journal of a Voyage to Peru: A passage Across the Cordillera de los Andes in the Winter of 1827. Performed on Foot in the Snow, and a Journey Across the Pampas*. London: Henry Colburn.

✓ BRASSEY A.A. (1881). *A Voyage in the "Sunbeam" our Home on the Ocean for Eleven Months*. London: Longmans, Green and Co.

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BULFIN, W. (1997). *Tales of the Pampas* (bilingual edition). Buenos Aires: L.O.L.A.

BURNSIDE, John (2004). *In Argentina: four poems*. Unpublished.

CALDCLEUGH, A. (1825). *Travels in South America, during the Years 1819-1820-1821*. London: unspecified publisher.

✓ CAMPBELL, A.B. (1953). *When I was in Patagonia*. The author.

CAMPBELL SCARLETT, P. (1838). *South America and the Pacific: Comprising a Journey Across the Pampas and the Andes, from Buenos Ayres to Valparaíso, Lima and Panama: with Remarks upon the Isthmus*. London: Henry Colburn.

CHATWIN, B. (1977). *In Patagonia*. London: Jonathan Cape.

✓ CRAWFORD, R. (1884). *Across the Pampas and the Andes*. London: Longmans, Green & Co.

CUNNINGHAME GRAHAM, R.B. (1899). *The Ipané*. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

----- (1900). *Thirteen Stories*. London: Heinemann.

----- (1902). *Success*. London: Duckworth & Co.

----- (1910). *Hope*. London: Duckworth & Co.

----- (1912). *Charity*. London: Duckworth & Co.

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